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Eine Wanderung durch die deutschen Sprachinseln in Piemont.

Von Prof. Dr. Wilh. Halbfass.

Wer sich die Grenzfigur des deutschen Sprachgebietes durch die Schweiz hin gegen Italien vergegenwärtigt, findet in den vielfach wunderbarlich geschwungenen Linien besonders eine Stelle, die ihn überraschen muss. Von dem sprachlich in einen höheren deutschen und einen tieferen französischen Teil geschiedenen Walliser Haupttal hin hat die Grenze, der das Turtmantal am Val d'Anniviers trennenden Bergkette entlang, die Höhe der natürlichen Scheide gegen Italien hin an der Tête Blanche und dem Matterhorn erreicht. Allein statt jetzt über den Gipfel des Monte Rosa in östlicher Richtung sich fortzusetzen, übersteigt sie in der Nähe dieses vorgeschobenen Eckpfeilers der Walliser Alpen den Gebirgskamm und legt sich in die Täler südlich vom Monte Rosa in das italienische Sprachgebiet hinein. Hier schneidet sie Gressoney, dann das oberste Gebiet der Sesia und ihrer Zuflüsse, endlich den obersten Teil von Val Anzasca mit Macugnaga heraus. Erst östlich von Monte Moro wird die der Wasserscheide folgende Schweizer Staats-Grenze zugleich auch wieder Sprachscheide. Dann fallen beide Linien, Simpeln den deutschen Boden zuweisend, über den Monte Leone und die Berge am Binnental bis gegen den Albrunpass und das Ofenhorn zusammen. Jetzt aber trennen sie sich plötzlich von Neuem. Abermals greift die deutsche Sprachgrenze in das Königreich Italien ein, geht in ein Nebentälchen des Deveratales mit dem Dörfchen Ager (Agaro), dann in das obere Stockwerk des Val Antigorio, die Stufe von Saley (Salecchio) hoch über S. Rocco über und erreicht unterhalb Unterwald die Tosa selbst, geht aber östlich gleich wieder auf die Wasserscheide hinauf, diesmal die Grenze des Kanton Tessin bildend. Noch einmal steigt sie, die politische Grenze als Wegeleitung abermals verschmähend, südlich hinab in ein Seitental des Val di Campo, wo das Dörfchen Gurin (Bosco) die einzige deutsche Sprachinsel im italienischen Tessin bildet, dann aber erklettert sie gleich wieder den Gebirgskamm und erreicht damit die Staatsgrenze. Ihr folgt sie dann über den Basodino und den Pass S. Giacomo bis da, wo östlich hoch über dem Passübergang am Griesgletscher die Grenze der Kantone Tessin und Wallis im rechten Winkel auf die italienische Staatsgrenze stößt. Fortan berührt die Sprachgrenze bis nach Tirol hinein keine Taler mehr, ihr weiterer Verlauf steht mit der heutigen Schilderung in keiner näheren Beziehung.

X-DG457

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#2

18

Es gibt kein „Trentino“.

Historische Studie

□ □ von □ □

WLADIMIR KUK



WIEN 1906.

Verlag von L. W. Seidel & Sohn
k. u. k. Hofbuchhändler.

8°
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X-DG 457.G3 #3

Dr. Rohmeder-München:

Deutsche Ortsnamen in Welsch-Tirol

Herausgegeben

vom

Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland



Berlin W. 62, Kurfürsten-Strasse 105

Preis 20 Pf.

1918

Südtirols Not unter der Herrschaft Italiens

Kurze Zusammenstellung authentischen Materials

1. Wilsons Fehler.

(Verletzung des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes Südtirols.)

Wir lesen in den vom Privatsekretär Wilson's zusammengestellten Memoiren Seite 111, Band II.

„Unglücklicherweise hatte der Präsident die Brennergrenze Orlando zugelegt, wodurch etwa 150.000 (selbst 200.000) Tiroler Deutsche Italien überantwortet wurden — eine Tat, die er später als einen großen Fehler ansah und tief bedauerte. Es war gesehen, bevor er diese Frage sorgfältig studiert hatte, und jetzt war er gebunden und mit-schuldig an Orlando's Forderung nach einer strategischen Grenze. Vielleicht glaubte er auch, ein Zugeständnis in den Alpen würde die italienischen Ansprüche in dem abtrüfflichen Gebiet mäßigen, doch die Italiener wollten Welches.“

2. Italiens

feierliche Versprechungen.

Italien hat als Großmacht für die Minderheiten keine Schutzbestimmungen in die Friedensverträge aufgenommen; aber in jenen Zeiten gab es die feierlichen Versicherungen über die Wahrung der nationalen Minderheiten ab, von denen hier einige herangezogen werden sollen:

Senator Tittoni, Delegierter Italiens auf der Friedenskonferenz von St. Germain, versichert in seiner Rede vom 27. September 1919 in der römischen Kammer:

„Italien wird auch 180.000 Deutsche in sein Gebiet einfügen. Heute kann man noch nicht mit Sicherheit voraussetzen, wie die Haltung dieser Minderheit sein wird und ob es verhindert werden könne, daß neue irredentistische Bewegungen entstehen und revolutionäre Vereinigungen sich bilden. Sehr viel wird von der Behandlung abhängen, die man ihnen zuteil werden läßt.“

Polen, die Tschecho-Slowakei, Rumänien und Serbien sind durch verschiedene Bestimmungen, welche in die Friedensverträge eingeschaltet wurden, verpflichtet, Sprache, Religion, Kultur, Schule und jede

freie Betätigung der nationalen Minderheiten zu achten und zu respektieren. Und es ist unbedingt notwendig, daß diese Bestimmungen aufrichtig und gleichmäßig eingehalten werden.

Italien hat, wie die übrigen Großmächte, keine gesetzliche Verpflichtung hierzu, aber nach meinem Empfinden besteht wegen der liberalen Traditionen, die sein Ruhm und Vorrang sind, eine große moralische Pflicht dazu.

Die Völker anderer Nationalitäten, die mit uns vereinigt werden, sollen wissen, daß uns der Gedanke einer Unterdrückung und Entnationalisierung vollkommen fern liegt, und daß ihre Sprache und ihre kulturellen Einrichtungen geachtet werden und ihre Verwaltungsbeamten alle Rechte unserer liberalen und demokratischen Gesetzgebung besitzen.

Wir können der Bevölkerung von Deutsch-Südtirol die Versicherung geben, daß nie ein Polizeiregiment eingeführt wird, mit Verfolgungen und Willkürherrschaft, der die Tiroler und Trentiner unter der österreichischen Regierung so viele Jahre unterworfen waren.“

Auch Erselens Lugatti, Berichterstatter in der römischen Kammer, drückte sich in ähnlicher Weise aus:

„Folgendes sagen wir den Deutschen, welche uns die Notwendigkeit unserer nationalen Verteidigung zwang, an unser Reich anzuschließen:

Es muß eine Ehrenpflicht sein für die Regierung und für das Parlament, den Deutschen, die nur wegen der absoluten Notwendigkeit, unsere Grenzen verteidigen zu können, angeliebt wurden, ihre autonomen Einrichtungen zu bewilligen.

Abgesehen von den erforderlichen Maßnahmen für die militärische Sicherheit, müssen sie sich frei und unbehelligt fühlen in der Ausübung ihrer kulturellen und religiösen Bedürfnisse im administrativen und ökonomischen Leben, denn nur so folgt Italien den Traditionen der alten Römer.“

Fürst Colonna, Berichterstatter im römischen Senate, schrieb in seinem Kommissionsberichte:

„Der Artikel 4 des Geleichenbundes ist vom anderen Hause in dem Sinne abgeändert worden, daß bei der Ausdehnung des Verfassungsgesetzes und der übrigen Staatsgesetze auf die annektierten Gebiete die Regierung den autonomen Einrichtungen

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#5

Vom
Deutschtum im Etschwinkel

in Oberitalien

Von
Oswald Deuerling

Sonderabdruck aus „Dem Nornenbrunnen“

(2. Jahrgang)

Beilage zur Zeitung „Der Südtiroler“

Innsbruck, 1929

Druck von H. & M. Jenau, Innsbruck, Leopoldstraße 12

Der Verlust Deutsch-Südtirols und seine Ursachen.

Von Karl Müllers.

Behn Jahre sind verfloßen, seit im Friedensvertrag von St.-Germain das Schicksal Deutsch-Südtirols festgelegt wurde. Der 10. September ist viel mehr als der 10. Oktober, an dem dann ein Jahr später Italien die Besitzergreifung formal vollzog, der Trauertag des Landes Tirol, denn er ist der Tag, an dem das jahrrelange Ringen um dieses schöne Land seinen tragischen Abschluß in einer Katastrophe fand, wie sie die Weltgeschichte wohl kaum erschütternder kennt.

Behn Jahre — sie scheinen all denen kurz, die das fürchterliche miterlebten, für die sie eine stets noch bleibende Erinnerung bilden. Und doch eine lange Zeit, wenn wir bedenken, was seither schon alles an uns vorbeigegangen ist, aber auch, wenn wir sehen, wie verheerend inzwischen die neuen Herren in dem verlorenen Lande hausten. Sie erscheinen uns aber auch lang genug, um jenen Abstand von den Geschehnissen zu gewinnen, der notwendig ist, um all das Vergangene richtig beurteilen zu können, um Geschichte als solche zu erfassen und zu verstehen.

Heute können wir uns fragen: Mußte es so kommen? Mußten wir Deutsch-Südtirol verlieren? Und wenn wir dieser Frage auf den Grund gehen, so müssen wir gestehen, daß gar vieles besser anders gemacht worden wäre, daß die Generationen vor uns Fehler über Fehler begingen und unseren Feinden natü und kurzfristig geradezu in die Hände arbeiteten.

Wir müssen zum richtigen Verständnis dieser Frage sehr weit zurückgreifen.

Es ist bekannt, daß in früheren Zeiten das Deutschtum in Südtirol viel weiter nach Süden reichte als jetzt. Manche Täler, wie das Fersental, Lagertal und andere,



X-DG457

.G3

#7



BOSCO-GURIN

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779

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Südtirol

1939



**Opfergang
und Bekenntnis**



Probe 1/2



Deutsche Kultur im Leben der Völker

X-DG457

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Mitteilungen der Akademie
zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung
und zur Pflege
des Deutschtums

Deutsche Akademie



Aus dem Inhalt:

Das deutsche Buch in fremden Sprachen — Das
deutsche Schrifttum in England — Deutsch-
italienische Kulturbeziehungen — Große Soldaten
als Meister des Wortes — Kulturpolitische

Rundschau

Paul Rau, Polytechnische Fachhochschule
München, Theresienstraße 78

112

Italy

X-DG457

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#10

Handausgabe
der
Umsiedlungs-Bestimmungen
für die deutschen Optanten

herausgegeben

vom

Leiter der Umsiedlichen Deutschen Ein-
und Rückwandererstellen

Oktober 1940

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#11

Gefnechtetes Volf



Eine Rede über Südtirol
von
Dom. Dietrich, St. Willen-Innsbruck



Volksdeutsche Abende · Blätter für Schulungs- u. Feiertunden · Heft 7

7 DG457

.63

#13



SÜDTIROL

XXV
10

Aus dem Inhalt:

Landschaft und Geschichte

Italienisches Versprechen und Verhalten

Südtiroler als Kolonialsoldaten

X-DG 457. G3

#14

Separat-Abdruck

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Alpenvereins.**

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Stuttgart

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h. Zehner

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Deutsches Gut

Verlorenes deutsches Land

Südtirol

3. Reihe: Wissen

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KULTUR

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Dokumente
über die Unterdrücker
Südtirols



X-DC 471

#17

PIERO STICOTTI

*

La Regione Giulia nelle guerre per l'indipendenza

"Anche noi abbiamo contribuito col san-
gue al riscatto della Patria comune."

(Dal discorso pronunciato nel 1878,
a Villa Glori, da Guglielmo Oberdan).

TRIESTE

SOCIETÀ EDITRICE MUTILATI E COMBATTENTI

1932-X

2060+.

c

X-DG552
8
#18

FIRENZE È ROMA?

LETTERA

DEL

DEPUTATO P. C. BOGGIO

Torino è pronta a sottomettersi al gran sacrificio
nell'interesse dell'Italia.

CAMILLO CAYOCH,
alla Camera dei Deputati
discorso del 25 marzo 1881.



AGENZIA COMPAIRE EDITRICE.

✓ X-DG 552

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: G2

#19

IL
CENTENARIO DELLO SBARCO
DI
GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI
A NEW YORK
IN ESILIO DAL 1850-1853

Vincent A. Caso

#2076+

X-DG 552

.8 #20.

.M4

IL MINISTERO
DINANZI
AL PARLAMENTO

OSTIA

IL GABINETTO MINGHETTI

POSTO IN ISTATO D'ACCUSA

CONSIDERAZIONI E PROPOSTE

DI

OSVALDO OSVALDI

TORINO

TIPOGRAFIA LETTERARIA

Piazza S. Carlo, N. 10.

X-DG 555

#21

A black and white photograph of a ship, possibly a submarine or a small naval vessel, on the water. A large, dark, billowing cloud of smoke or steam rises from the ship's stern, suggesting a recent explosion or fire. The ship has a complex superstructure with various antennas and equipment. The water is choppy with small waves.

LE VIE DELL'OCEANO

X-DG555

#22



L'ITALIA CONTRO LE PLUTOCRAZIE

X-DG 555

Carlo Sforza #23

3 -AUG 17
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L'ITALIA
E I PROBLEMI
DELLA PACE
EUROPEA

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Italienischer Allgemeiner Gewerkschaftsbund

(Confederazione Generale del Lavoro Italiana)

An den Kongress des Internationalen Gewerkschaftsbundes

PARIS

ERSTER TEIL

Die Frage des Italienischen Gewerkschaftsbundes

Werte Genossen,

Am 4. Januar 1927 beschloss das leitende Komitee des italienischen Allgem. Gewerkschaftsbundes die Auflösung der Klassenorganisation der italienischen Arbeiter. Dieser Entschluss hat Niemanden erstaunt, weil er durch eine Reihe vorhergehender Äusserungen vorbereitet wurde. Eine Delegation des Beauftragten der FIDAP (Angestelltenverband), der FILAM (Hötel-Arbeiter) und der FILIL (Holzarbeiterverband) begab sich zum leitenden Komitee in Dezember 1926 und fragte ihn um Anweisungen über die gewerkschaftliche Arbeit und die Einberufung des Allg. Ausschuss des A.G.B.; diese Delegation wurde aber grob zurückgeschickt.

Nach einigen Tagen alle Mitglieder des leitenden Komitee, die sich noch in Italien befanden, — d. h. die Mehrheit der Mitglieder des I. K. — beschloss die Auflösung des A.G.B., und zeigten offen ihre Rolle von Helfern des faschistischen Syndikalismus.

Die Konferenz des 20. Februar

Nach diesem Beschluss, ergriffen die obenerwähnten Nationalen Verbände selbst die Initiative, eine nationale Konferenz aller — örtlichen und nationalen — Gewerkschaftsorganisationen, die vorher Mitglieder des A.G.B. waren, einzuberufen, um die Lage der Organisation in Bezug auf den Entschluss der vorigen Führer des A.G.B. zu prüfen, und die entsprechenden Massregeln zu beschliessen.

Die Konferenz fand am 20. Februar in einer Mai-

länder Fabrik statt. Es waren ung. 30 Vertreter der wichtigsten nationalen Verbände und der Ortsorganisationen anwesend. Diese Teilnehmer gehörten den verschiedenen politischen Strömungen des italienischen Proletariats. Die vertretenen Verbände und Organisationen waren folgende :

FIOM (Metallarbeiter), FIOT (Textilarbeiter), FILIL (Holzarbeiter), FILAM (Hötelarbeiter), FIDAP (Angestellte); Transportsverband, FOPI (Buchdrucker), FIOG (Arbeiter der chemischen Industrie), FIOE (Maurer), Verband der Lebensmittel-Arbeiter (Angestellten der Genossenschaften inmitten), die alten « Camere del Lavoro » (Verband der sämtlichen Ortsgruppen) von Mailand, Turin, Triest, Bologna, Genua, Neapel, Rom, Bergamo, Vicenza, und noch mehrere Ortsgruppen, d. h. jungen Maurer, Pelz-Arbeiter, FIOM und FILIL von Legnano, Abbiategrasso, Magenta. Die jungen Coiffeurs-Burschen und verschiedene Organisationsatoren hatten beigestimmt.

Die Konferenz nahm einstimmig folgende Beschlüsse :

a) den Auflösungsbeschluss der vorigen Führer des A.G.B. zu verwerfen und einen Antrag an den Internationalen Gewerkschaftsbund zu stellen, womit man ihn anfragt, den verbrecherischen Auflösungsbeschluss für ungültig zu erklären, sei es faktisch, so wie gerechtlich ;

b) die Wahl eines provisorischen leitenden Komitee des A.G.B., mit folgenden Aufgaben :

1. eine Erklärung an die italienischen Arbeiter zu wenden, indem es gesagt wird, dass der A. G. B., trotz dem Entschluss seines vorigen, zum Feinde freiwillig

PARTI RÉPUBLICAIN ITALIEN

DIRECTION

•••••

le 1 Août 1927.

Au Congrès de la Fédération Syndicale Internationale

Le Parti Republicain Italien, exilé en France ou ailleurs dans le monde, en la personne de ses dirigeants et de milliers de militants, est heureux de présenter son salut et de rendre son hommage au Congrès de la Fédération Syndicale Internationale, dans laquelle, du reste, beaucoup de travailleurs républicains sont représentés par leurs délégués dans la Confédération Générale du Travail italienne.

Ainsi qu'il eut occasion de le dire même à Marseille, au Congrès de l'Internationale Ouvrière et Socialiste, le Parti Republicain Italien considère que le problème social est le problème de l'époque — bien qu'il soit inséparable du problème politique, l'un étant en fonction de l'autre. On peut donc bien comprendre avec quel intérêt et avec quels vœux il se dispose à suivre les travaux de l'Internationale Syndicale.

De même que le triomphe des droits du travail ne peut être l'œuvre que de ses fils, la conquête de la liberté et de tout autre bien ne peut être l'œuvre que de ceux qui en sont privés: le devoir qui pèse sur le peuple italien et particulièrement sur les classes des travailleurs est donc bien grave; mais pour cela, et pour la raison que le Fascisme — considéré en soi-même et en ses effets — n'est pas seulement un phénomène italien, une tâche singulière se présente à tous les esprits libres et aux classes travailluses des autres pays dans un monde si injuste et si inquiet.

C'est une sorte de division du travail et de coordination qu'on conçoit: on ne peut pas séparer l'action politique de l'action syndicale, ainsi qu'une grande nation ne peut pas être séparée des autres nations. Le Parti Republicain Italien, fraternellement à côté des partis similaires, continuera sa lutte, et toujours avec plus de ténacité, pour les libertés politiques et pour la justice sociale qui en est la cause et l'effet. Dès aujourd'hui il souhaite que même la Fédération Syndicale Internationale, dans un avenir pas loin, puisse témoigner que cette ferme intention a été accomplie.

Vive l'unité dans la Fédération Syndicale Internationale!
Vive la République Sociale Italienne!

p. la Direction
du Parti Republicain Italien,

Signé: Mario BERGAMO, Député

Message des Députés Italiens réfugiés en France

A Monsieur le Président de l'Union Interparlementaire et à Messieurs les Délégués de tous les Pays, à la XXIV^e Conférence Interparlementaire.

Palais du Luxembourg

PARIS

Paris, le 24 août 1927.

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT
ET MESSEURS LES DÉLÉGUÉS,

Les soussignés citoyens, qui revendiquent toujours leur qualité de Députés de la Chambre italienne, en leur propre nom et au nom de leurs collègues et adhérents que la réaction fasciste a réduits au silence par la déportation, l'emprisonnement et l'assassinat, envoient à la Conférence de l'Union Interparlementaire de la Paix leur salut le plus cordial ; et, en même temps, appellent son attention sur la situation juridique et moral du Groupe officiel italien, qui prétend siéger à la Conférence au nom du Parlement italien.

Nous déclarons qu'il n'y a ni Groupe ni individu qui puisse, en ce moment, réclamer comme un droit de représenter le Parlement italien, car, malheureusement, et pour la honte de la civilisation, il n'y a plus de régime constitutionnel en Italie. La dictature a été ouvertement proclamée comme le système politique du Pays ; toute liberté individuelle et sociale y a été supprimée. Un despotisme asiatique, que seulement la force armée d'un parti de prétoriens et la résolution avouée du pouvoir de ne céder à aucune contrainte morale ni d'obéir à aucun scrupule juridique ont pu imposer à un pays désarmé, maîtrise et terrorise la Nation et la plie sous son joug. L'opinion n'a plus de rôle dans notre malheureux pays. Le seul parti qui puisse parler et agir, c'est le parti du Gouvernement, c'est-à-dire le Gouvernement même.

Or la base de votre institution, le postulat pratique de son existence, sa raison d'être, c'est le régime parlementaire. Vous vous proposez d'attendre vos buts, qui sont nos mêmes buts, par l'action et l'agitation parlementaire. Vous pensez, comme nous, que la conscience éveillée des Groupes parlementaires puisse imposer aux Gouvernements cette politique de paix et d'union internationale, qui est le souhait et l'aspiration ardente de tous les peuples. Conquérir les majorités parlementaires à l'idée de la paix

c'est le moyen par lequel vous espérez arriver à l'établissement d'une paix permanente entre les peuples, ou, tout au moins, à une politique conforme aux règles de l'équité internationale. Cette confiance dans le système parlementaire, c'est votre loi et votre croyance. Nous ne pouvons pas imaginer que dictature et despotisme puissent être tolérés par vous et reconnus comme des moyens capables d'assurer la paix entre les peuples. Votre institution est, par elle-même, la protestation vivante contre toute atteinte à la démocratie et au régime parlementaire.

Mais les messieurs qui se sont constitués en Groupe parlementaire pour représenter l'Italie, ou sont des Députés et des Sénateurs qui ont fait acte d'adhésion au fascisme, qui sont eux-mêmes des fascistes, et partant antiparlementaires et soutiens avoués de la réaction despotique, de la tyrannie qui sévit chez nous ; ou sont des Députés et des Sénateurs qui, par leurs voix ou leur silence, ont sanctionnés les méfaits de la réaction. Ceux d'entre eux qui sont Députés fascistes, ont approuvé, contre la Constitution et la logique des institutions parlementaires, contre les lois qui établissent les cas d'incompatibilité pour l'exercice de la fonction parlementaire, par simple vote de majorité, la déchéance des opposants du Gouvernement, bien que nous ayons été élus par le suffrage universel, et que la validité de notre élection eut été sanctionnée par la Commission compétente de la Chambre et par la Chambre elle-même en séance publique.

Les Députés de l'Opposition avaient participé aux travaux de la Chambre jusqu'au jour — le fait est notoire — où cette participation fut rendue moralement incompatible avec leur dignité, et matériellement impossible, par la violence armée de leurs adversaires et du régime lui-même, refusant à l'Opposition — au nom d'une Révolution qui n'a été qu'un coup d'Etat — tout droit à l'explication de son action légale et même à l'intégrité et à la vie physique de ses composants, comme l'ont démontré tant d'exemples tragiques bien con-

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Les soussignés citoyens, qui revendiquent toujours leur qualité de Députés de la Chambre italienne, en leur propre nom et au nom de leurs collègues et adhérents que la réaction fasciste a réduits au silence par la déportation, l'emprisonnement et l'assassinat, envoient à la Conférence de l'Union Interparlementaire de la Paix leur salut le plus cordial ; et, en même temps, appellent son attention sur la situation juridique et moral du Groupe officiel italien, qui prétend siéger à la Conférence au nom du Parlement italien.

Nous déclarons qu'il n'y a ni Groupe ni individu qui puisse, en ce moment, réclamer comme un droit de représenter le Parlement italien, car, malheureusement, et pour la honte de la civilisation, il n'y a plus de régime constitutionnel en Italie. La dictature a été ouvertement proclamée comme le système politique du Pays ; toute liberté individuelle et sociale y a été supprimée. Un despotisme asiatique, que seulement la force armée d'un parti de prétoriens et la résolution avouée du pouvoir de ne céder à aucune contrainte morale ni d'obéir à aucun scrupule juridique ont pu imposer à un pays désarmé, maîtrise et terrorise la Nation et la plie sous son joug. L'opinion n'a plus de rôle dans notre malheureux pays. Le seul parti qui puisse parler et agir, c'est le parti du gouvernement, c'est-à-dire le Gouvernement même.

Or la base de votre institution, le postulat pratique de son existence, sa raison d'être, c'est le régime parlementaire. Vous vous proposez d'atteindre vos buts, qui sont nos mêmes buts, par l'action et l'agitation parlementaire. Vous pensez, comme nous, que la conscience éveillée des Groupes parlementaires puisse imposer aux Gouvernements cette politique de paix et d'union internationale, qui est le souhait et l'aspiration ardente de tous les peuples. Conquérir les majorités parlementaires à l'idée de la paix

c'est le moyen par lequel vous espérez arriver à l'établissement d'une paix permanente entre les peuples, ou, tout au moins, à une politique conforme aux règles de l'équité internationale. Cette confiance dans le système parlementaire, c'est votre loi et votre croyance. Nous ne pouvons pas imaginer que dictature et despotisme puissent être tolérés par vous et reconnus comme des moyens capables d'assurer la paix entre les peuples. Votre institution est, par elle-même, la protestation vivante contre toute atteinte à la démocratie et au régime parlementaire.

Mais les messieurs qui se sont constitués en Groupe parlementaire pour représenter l'Italie, ou sont des Députés et des Sénateurs qui ont fait acte d'adhésion au fascisme, qui sont eux-mêmes des fascistes, et partant antiparlementaires et soutiens avoués de la réaction despotique, de la tyrannie qui sévit chez nous ; ou sont des Députés et des Sénateurs qui, par leurs voix ou leur silence, ont sanctionnés les méfaits de la réaction. Ceux d'entre eux qui sont Députés fascistes, ont approuvé, contre la Constitution et la logique des institutions parlementaires, contre les lois qui établissent les cas d'incompatibilité pour l'exercice de la fonction parlementaire, par simple vote de majorité, la déchéance des opposants du Gouvernement, bien que nous ayons été élus par le suffrage universel, et que la validité de notre élection eût été sanctionnée par la Commission compétente de la Chambre et par la Chambre elle-même en séance publique.

Les Députés de l'Opposition avaient participé aux travaux de la Chambre jusqu'au jour — le fait est notoire — où cette participation fut rendue moralement incompatible avec leur dignité, et matériellement impossible, par la violence armée de leurs adversaires et du régime lui-même, refusant à l'Opposition — au nom d'une Révolution qui n'a été qu'un coup d'Etat — tout droit à l'explication de son action légale et même à l'intégrité et à la vie physique de ses composants, comme l'ont démontré tant d'exemples tragiques bien con-

Concentrazione di Azione Antifascista

costituita il 28 Marzo 1927 a Parigi, dal Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani, dal Partito Socialista Italiano, dal Partito Repubblicano Italiano, dalla Confederazione Generale del Lavoro d'Italia e dalla Lega Italiana dei Diritti dell'Uomo

SEDE: PARIGI (10) - 103, Rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis

MENTRE LA MONARCHIA FASCISTA — INSULTANDO ANCORA UNA VOLTA IL POPOLO ITALIANO — ORGANIZZA LA FRODE PLEBISCITARIA. I DEPUTATI DELL'ITALIA LIBERA RESTANO AL LORO POSTO. UNICI E VERI RAPPRESENTANTI DELLA NAZIONE. IL LORO MANDATO SI ESAURIRÀ IL GIORNO IN CUI ESSI POTRANNO RICONSEGNARLO ALLA LIBERA COSTITUENTE ITALIANA, DALLA QUALE DOVRÀ SORGERE — RIPARATRICE DI TUTTE LE SOFFERENZE, INSTAURATRICE DI TUTTE LE LIBERTÀ — LA REPUBBLICA DEMOCRATICA DEI LAVORATORI

Dopo lo scioglimento della XXVIIª Legislatura, i Deputati antifascisti rifugiati all'estero ed aderenti alla Concentrazione, hanno redatto un documento che, dopo esser stato largamente riprodotto all'estero, viene introdotto, per le vie claviestine della cospirazione, oltre i confini della Patria.

Già per due volte, in occasione delle Conferenze Interparlamentari di Parigi (1927) e di Berlino (1928), i Deputati antifascisti dissero alta e nobile la parola del vero Parlamento italiano.

Mentre il fascismo, definitivamente identificato con la monarchia del tradimento, licenzia le sue comparse clette nella tragica impresa elettorale del 6 aprile 1924, i Deputati dei partiti d'opposizione che riuscirono, nonostante il terrore, a portare, alla Camera la parola di un popolo schiavo, non potevano tacere.

Riunitisi nell'esilio, essi — ben certi di avere ancor solidali i Deputati coi quali compirono nel 1924 l'alta protesta dell'Aventino e che oggi, arrestati, condannati, deportati, imbaragliati in Italia, non possono esprimere la loro opinione — hanno voluto rivolgere un nuovo appello alla Nazione.

Gli Italiani accolgano l'appello dei loro rappresentanti al Parlamento. A quel Parlamento cui appartennero tante vittime del fascismo, da Policarpo Sgarbi, caduto nella difesa armata, del Comune di Verona, a Giacomo Matteotti, interprete di tutte le vittime e simbolo di tutti i sacrifici; da Giuseppe Di Vittorio, l'assassinato di Cerignola, a Giovanni Amendola, il capo dell'Aventino che trascinò nell'esilio gli ultimi giorni della sua vita, schiantato dalle bastonate di Montecatini; da Antonio Piccinini, il candidato trucidato a Reggio Emilia, riuscito capo della sua lista in quell'Emilia che conobbe il sacrificio eroico di Molinella, a Gaetano Pilati, il « giustiziato » dallo squadristo fiorentino, il più criminale degli squadristi.

La parola dei Deputati proscritti — che il fascismo tentò inutilmente di cacciare dalla Camera col bando assurdo del novembre 1926 — giunga consolatrice ed incitatrice agli Italiani imbaragliati. Sia essa di monito e di incoraggiamento all'azione. Il giorno in cui gli elettori italiani saranno trascinati alle urne per compiere la menzognera formalità da cui pretende di trarre una consacrazione legale la più infame delle dittature, la voce dei Deputati fuorusciti — che è la vera voce d'Italia — riecheggerà nei cuori di tutti gli Italiani, incoraggi i deboli e i dubbiosi, risvegli la tradizione eroica del Risorgimento nazionale, sollevi contro tutti i tiranni l'azione di tutti gli oppressi.

Italiani ! Sono gli esuli che vi tendono la mano, che vi lanciano — al disopra di una frontiera che divide i fratelli dai fratelli — una parola d'ordine e d'intesa. Si stabilisca tra gli esuli in Italia e gli esuli rifugiati nel mondo un vincolo più stretto, reso sacro dal comune sacrificio, oltre che dal ricordo delle passate comuni battaglie. L'Italia schiava chiami l'Italia sparsa pel mondo. Gli oppressi chiamino gli oppressi; si stabilisca tra noi e voi un linguaggio comune, che si intenda oltre tutte le barriere.

Tutti gli Italiani, tutti gli uomini che vogliono essere liberi, tutti gli antifascisti, si ritrovino nella comunità degli spiriti e delle speranze, mentre si avvicina il giorno in cui l'azione liberatrice li troverà, fedeli anche nel sacrificio, al loro posto di battaglia, per la definitiva vittoria !

Concentrazione di Azione Antifascista

X-DG 571

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costituita il 28 Marzo 1927 a Parigi, dal Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani, dal Partito Socialista Italiano, dal Partito Repubblicano Italiano, dalla Confederazione Generale del Lavoro d'Italia e dalla Lega Italiana dei Diritti dell'Uomo

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MAR 11 1942

DIVISION OF DOCUMENTS

X-DG 571

10 Giugno 1924 - 10 Giugno 1930

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RICORDIAMO: sei anni fa, a Roma, GIACOMO MATTEOTTI, il più fiero difensore delle nostre libertà, rapito su un'automobile, venne scanonato trucidato dai sicari di Mussolini.

Nessun delitto fu mai più spietato, nessuna responsabilità fu mai più chiaramente riconosciuta.

L'ondata di indignazione popolare parve volesse subitamente travolgere il regime criminale che il fascismo aveva instaurato in Italia. Scomparvero i distintivi dal risvolto delle giubbe, la milizia non rispose all'appello, e il Duce, costretto a far arrestare i suoi più diretti collaboratori, perse ogni baldanza nell'attesa di essere messo in istato di accusa.

Perché non avvenne allora la nostra liberazione? Perché non avevamo la mentalità di guerra. Perché si credeva ancora di poter opporre i ragionamenti alla violenza, perché si voleva combattere un governo ch'è fuori d'ogni legge rispettando le leggi, perché si sperava nell'intervento del Re invece d'aver fede solo in noi stessi.

Seontiamo ora le conseguenze del nostro errore. Ma il sangue non fu versato invano. Matteotti, con la sua morte, ha definito irrevocabilmente il regime, ha precisato le responsabilità, ha creato un abisso incolmabile fra il fascismo e l'Italia. Egli è divenuto il simbolo della nostra oppressione, la bandiera per la nostra riscossa.

ITALIANI !

Con che cosa il fascismo vi ha pagato la vergogna i delitti e le manette? Vi avevano promesso prosperità grandezza e potenza. Che cosa vi hanno dato? Miseria. Miseria nera oggi: più nera ancora domani. La lira è salva, per ora: ma l'industria è in rovina e gli operai sono alla fame. Nessun popolo in nessun paese è stato mai così ferocemente tassato come voi siete spremuti dal torchio fascista. E i quattrini che sudate sangue a guadagnare hanno servito e servono a pagare le follie megalomani, i monumenti, le feste, i salvataggi di banche e di industrie rovinare dagli affaristi; servono ai palazzi, ville, automobili dei "fratelli", ministri gerarchi e podestà; servono a pagare il costosissimo esercito dei vostri carcerieri, camicie nere e questurini; servono di pastura all'immenso esercito di parassiti che vi irreggimentano nelle mandrie sindacali per potervi meglio sorvegliare e mungere. E se vi lamentate che non si va più avanti, ecco un altro dei vostri miliardi che si disperde in costruzioni navali: per la grandezza

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Giustizia e Libertà

no 10

Insorgere - Risorgere

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Giustizia e Libertà

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#33

Giustizia e Libertà

no. 10.

Insorgere - Risorgere

Giustizia e Libertà

#34

Oggi, in regime fascista;
quando compriamo un chilo di pane a 2 lire paghiamo 60 centesimi di imposta;
quando compriamo un litro di vino da pasto a 2 lire paghiamo 50 centesimi di imposta;
quando compriamo un chilo di zucchero a L.6,50 paghiamo L.5,32 di imposta;
quando compriamo un chilo di caffè crudo in grani a 26 lire, paghiamo 17 lire di imposta.

Nel 1922, prima della "marcia su Roma", non pagavamo imposta sul pane perchè non c'era dazio sul grano, e tutte le altre imposte sui consumi erano molto minori. Il monopolio di Stato vendeva il sale comune a 50 centesimi invece che al prezzo attuale di L.1,50 al chilo, e le sigarette macedonia a L.1,50 invece che a 2 lire.

Lo stesso aumento della pressione tributaria si è avuto nelle imposte dirette. Basti ricordare che la maggiore fiscalità degli accertamenti ha fatto aumentare il gettito dell'imposta di ricchezza mobile da 1313 milioni, quale era nel 1922-23, a 2862 milioni nel 1928-29. Ed in seguito all'applicazione delle nuove gravissime leggi contro le evasioni fiscali, per l'esercizio in corso sono stati preventivati 350 milioni in più della somma preventivata nell'esercizio passato per l'imposta di ricchezza mobile.

Questo mentre la crisi si aggrava e passa dal campo industriale e commerciale al campo bancario.

Le statistiche ufficiali - benché addomesticate - pubblicano che dal luglio 1929 al luglio 1930 i disoccupati sono aumentati da 201.868 a 342.061, i fallimenti da 1.036 a 1.230, i protesti cambiari da 81.893 a 90.211, mentre le merci trasportate dalle ferrovie per conto dei privati sono diminuite da 5.576 tonnellate a 4.341 tonnellate e l'indice generale delle quotazioni di borsa delle società anonime è sceso da 141 a 119.

Ma cosa importa all'imperial patrio governo la tragica situazione del paese?

Quel che interessa è di aver sempre nuovo e più abbondante foraggio per le greppie a cui sono i gerarchi, salvatori della patria. Per gli altri la fame, la galera od il plotone di esecuzione delle camicie nere "salvaguardia della rivoluzione".

MOVIMENTO RIVOLUZIONARIO ANTIFASCISTA

Uccidete me, ma l'idea che è in me è immortale. MATTEOTTI

operare in qualsiasi. Tutti
rilevati. Essi, con tale in-

spese in qualsiasi. Tutti
ma. Spese, con l'eda in
sola, perina Giovanni An
dola. Colpisce a morte in
lla, e trascinato in terra,
niera per chiudere, invece
li, le gherone una via
quant'altri non sperano
le. E' facile disperdere,
gellare, fraccidire i suoi
datti. Per bene si con
pri, molto, largamente e,
care, euglio, fin con la
gere cruciale, la gente
lorde di sangue. Dopo di
con bella grazia, finché
inazione, il Corallo co
si Tribunale Speciale e a
provvide leggi.

a Giustizia e Libertà a
diffusione fascista e per la
crisi, repubblicana.

Aglio sul terreno rivo-
luzionario non è affatto
impossibile ogni altra forma
di governo all'incanto tutto
loca dignità della servitù po-
polare alla stessa.

Afferma che la libe-
tà opera dagli italiani.

Afferma che nell'attuale
terrore della classe lavorante
garantisce egualianza giu-
stiziarla il suo ideale di g

Dichiaro che la lotta è
dei. Questo è il prezzo del d

FASCISMO E DISOCCUPAZIONE

Le statistiche fasciste, pubblicate oggi, dicono che nel 1930, nei cinque mesi di aprile, maggio, giugno, luglio e agosto, si sono disoccupati 106 mila italiani, contro 70 mila dell'anno scorso. Ma, a meno che non si consideri la media delle disoccupazioni giornaliere, si può dire che il fenomeno non è che un po' più grave che nel 1929. E, in ogni caso, non è che un po' più grave che nel 1929. E, in ogni caso, non è che un po' più grave che nel 1929.

Esppure non è a dire che in
alta non ci sia più come si
te rose. Mancoschi ebbe la spie-
ciologia di ricordare in una
serena sedia che « si può
conosci in Sardegna e nell'in-
lia meridionale dove la pen-
per dei mesi ci mette di em-
» Il deputato Zibigoli, il
5 dicembre 1922, ha dimostra-
che la ragione all'origine ve-
degli italiani) rimane infe-
riore alla ragione che i falo-
logi ritengono necessario al-
l'uomo adulto. « La nostra ra-
zione... » An della testamento
» è in più cosa di tutti gli

Il governo fascista non prometterà che nell'Italia fascista esiste un problema dei disoccupati. Nell'Italia fascista tutti gli italiani debbono essere per definizione ricchi e felici. I giornali hanno l'ordine di non pubblicare notizie sgradevoli. Ogni pubblica antiscrittura è vietata. Il disoccupazione, se esiste fascista, è come l'appiccato. Pronto d'ogni ricevuta pubblica o privata, impossibilità di organizzarsi, il tentativo di togliersi dal posto fa cadere la testa. I padroni far rifare i salari, al disoccupazione non reale che solo libertà: morire di fame nel no-

Eppure non è a dire che la
dita non ci appaia come stacco
di rete. Mussolini ebbe la spaz-
zoleggiata di ricordare in una
serata notturna che « il san-
to» di Sordani e nell'una
curriculum deve la penis-
la dei mesi ci vuole di en-
« Il deputato Zingales, il
dicembre 1929, ha dimo-
strato la ragione definitiva
degli italiani rimasti in-
fatti alla ragione che i
cittadini ritengono necessario
alcuna azione. « La nostra ra-
gione — ha detto bruscamente
— è la più bassa di tutti gli

10

edili straordinari di disoccupazione, aumentando a gradua-

del straordinario disprezzo, cominciando a tirarlo fuori dal rifugio sicuro in cui lo teneva. Ma il governo fuorilegge non si affrettò dei disprezzi per il suo re, e si limitò a negare la sua esistenza, come se non fosse mai esistito. Il re, per la sua parte, non si affrettò di negare la sua esistenza, come se non fosse mai esistito. Il re, per la sua parte, non si affrettò di negare la sua esistenza, come se non fosse mai esistito.

Avvenire, Luigi Cordi-
riale di Macchia, affronta
un gruppo di sghignazzi. Al
cena e saluta le molte
procedere da cui, altre volte
platea bastardo a rompo-
facimento, quando si era fol-
to. «Non siate pigri», si
era addormentato e discosto, si-
one lo rianima fra i ciari
criminali.

banditi, erano parte di
viale? Hanno proceduto in
terra civile. Ne subisce le
sequenze.

Per noi sarebbe l'ordine
di arresto. Prete si
di, i mercurati che loro
alla per la gola, finora,
ne vorranno, la stessa fin-
dizionale, l'eterna per
li la resa dei conti.

Non è che l'azione di im-
La dignità umana pare ce-

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#37

GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTÀ

A

GIACOMO MATTEOTTI

I SOCIALISTI ITALIANI

10 giugno 1924 - 10 giugno 1930

Roma, giugno 1930

Giustizia e Libertà

Insorgere - Risorgere

Roma Settembre 1930

IL PROCESSO DI TRIESTE

Alle ore 5,43 del 6 settembre, Bidovec, Milos, Marussich e Valencie sono stati fucilati nella schiena da un plotone di 56 camicie nere. Assisteva alla esecuzione il 58. battaglione della milizia fascista al completo, composto di 600 uomini al comando del console Damiani.

" Alle ore 5,51, il battaglione delle camicie nere, che aveva tenuto un comportamento superbo di fermezza e di impassibilità - dice il comunicato ufficiale - riformava i suoi ranghi e tornava a Trieste". Eroi dunque i fucilatori, infami e codardi i fucilati.

Cinque giorni è durato il processo contro i 18 slavi accusati di atti terroristici e per cinque giorni tutta la stampa italiana ha disciplinatamente sputato a salve sugli imputati dipinti come delinquenti volgari. L'ultimo sputo sui monti è venuto dal "foglio d'ordini", che li ha dichiarati "grassatori di strada, svaligiatori di uffici postali". Vi è in questo sozzo contegno tutto lo stile di questo regime che aggiunge la menzogna, l'inganno, l'ipocrisia, la frode alla violenza.

Veri pidocchiosi morali, son giunti a imporre, a quei quattro docilissimi sgattieri di giornalisti, di inserire nei loro resoconti gli accenni alla "Concentrazione antifascista" ed al "Becco Giallo" che durante il processo non sono mai stati nominati, di cui non v'è traccia negli atti processuali! Ma il falso serviva troppo bene per designare alla riprovazione dei buoni borghesi il fuoruscitismo che tien mano ai terroristi slavi. Falso e calunnia in cui non vi è la più lontana ombra di vero. Gli imputati dovevano rispondere di 99 gravi delitti commessi negli ultimi quattro anni, ma nessun giornale ne aveva mai dato notizia, all'infuori dell'attentato al "Popolo di Trieste".

Nessuna sevizia - hanno detto - sarebbe mai stata commessa contro gli accusati in carcere, ma oltre alle minacce ed agli interrogatori torturanti, risulta che uno degli incarcerati è morto per le torture al "Regina Celi" di Roma. Gli atti dell'istruttoria sono stati comunicati alla difesa perchè ne prendesse visione, ma solo dopo iniziato il processo (ed erano 38 volumi!). I difensori hanno avuto libertà di parola ma erano 6 nominati d'ufficio per 18 imputati, sei giudici e promi lacchè, tanto spregevoli che hanno persino negato ogni motivo ideale all'attività terroristica dei loro difesi aggravandone piuttosto che alleggerirne la posizione: procuratore era Desy e presidente Cristini, nomi raccomandati alla perpetua e buona memoria degli italiani.

Riesce difficile dai menzognieri i resoconti del processo, farci una idea della reale figura morale degli imputati. Il fatto però che i giornali hanno parlato di "spavaldo e cinico contegno" basterebbe a dimostrare che, all'infuori del traditore Spanger e di altre mezze figure, alcuni di essi si sono comportati con fierezza ed eroismo. Ed eran quasi tutti ventenni. Soprattutto deve essere ricordato con profondo rispetto il Bidovec, fiero dinnanzi ai giudici e dinnanzi alla morte, che, bendato, lanciò ai suoi fucilatori il grido "Viva la Jugoslavia!".

Anche ammettendoli senz'altro responsabili dei fatti che sono stati loro imputati, cioè ammettendo come degno di fede il giudicato del tribunale fascista, bisogna ricordare che questi giovani slavi si trovano, rispetto al regime fascista, in una posizione molto peggiore di quella in cui erano, prima dell'unificazione, i patrioti italiani in confronto all'Impero d'Austria.

Quando la tirannia impedisce ogni manifestazione civile per affermare il proprio pensiero, chi non si adatta per vigliaccheria ad essere servo - e come servo a divenire complice - deve di necessità ribellarsi. Della ribellione è responsabile la tirannia che la provoca, come la prima responsabilità del sangue versato ricade sul fascismo. E così ricada e vi perica. Noi non ci meravigliamo che il fascismo, secondo la sua logica orrenda, fucili i suoi avversari. Ma ricordiamo agli Italiani che questa è la logica dei Borboni e di Francesco Giuseppe. I quali tuttavia rappresentavano qualche cosa di più che gli interessi di una manada di prevaricatori, e non difendevano le loro vittime. Feroci e vili, vantano costoro la generosità del regime! Generoso questo regime dice l'accusatore - che accorda la licenza di esercizio, durante il periodo istruttorio, al padre di uno dei fucilati; ma perchè non ci dicono che il padre di Bidovec, che aveva sperato sino

x-DG 571 # 39

Concentrazione di azione antifascista

costituita dal Partito Socialista Italiano, dal Partito Repubblicano
Italiano, dalla Confederazione Generale del Lavoro
d'Italia, dalla Lega Italiana dei Diritti dell'Uomo

103, Faubourg Saint-Denis

PARIGI (10)

*L'Italia di domani
sara' libera e repubblicana*

**Gli antifascisti emigrati lanciano ai fratelli d'Italia
la parola d'ordine della riscossa**

IL PATTO D'UNIONE E DI AZIONE

A Parigi, il 7 e l'8 settembre, si è riunito il Consiglio Generale della Concentrazione di Azione Antifascista la quale, costituita il 28 marzo 1927, riunisce il Partito Socialista Italiano, il Partito Repubblicano Italiano, la Lega Italiana dei Diritti dell'Uomo e la Confederazione Generale del Lavoro.

Il Consiglio Generale, presieduto da Filippo Turati, ha approvato unanime il seguente Patto :

« La Concentrazione Antifascista Italiana constata che gli avvenimenti che si succedono in Italia giustificano e avvallo-

rano l'atteggiamento assunto contro il fascismo, fin dal suo sorgere, da tutti i partiti, le organizzazioni e gli enti riuniti nella Concentrazione Antifascista. Infatti, al profondo malessere politico, morale e spirituale di cui è cagione un regime nemico implacato e implacabile di ogni libertà e di ogni civiltà, si associa oggi — sempre per colpa dello stesso regime — uno spaventoso e insanabile malessere economico, onde l'estendersi a strati sempre più vasti e profondi della ferma e risoluta volontà del popolo italiano di portare in questa crisi complessa, che è formidabile crisi di vita nazionale, la luce vivida e la fiamma ardente di una volontà e di una azione liberatrice, decisamente e radicalmente rivoluzionaria.

X-DG 571 #40

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

MAR 11 1938

I commenti stranieri ai discorsi tenuti da Mussolini a Livorno e a Firenze sono stati assai pepati. I giornali fascisti si sono limitati a riportare quelli della "Liberté" di Parigi (notoriamente sovvenzionata da Roma) dell'"Ami du Peuple" e del "Figaro" di proprietà dell'infame Coty divenuto, in compenso dei bassi servizi resi al fascismo, il padrone della nostra industria del bergamotto.

Portiamo a conoscenza degli italiani il seguente articolo apparso nel "Manchester Guardian" del 20 maggio, nel quale insieme al profondo disprezzo che il dittatore istrione suscita, è bene posto in luce non solo il perfido e gragissimo che la megalomania di Mussolini rappresenta per la pace, ma l'artificiosità, la falsità del suo atteggiamento volto a far credere ai suoi sudditi che l'agnello italiano è insidiato e minacciato dal lupo europeo.

x-DG 571 #44

LE MILITANZIE DEL DUCE

Irena della corte volle che il signor Mussolini scegliesse il giorno in cui Briand proponeva il suo schema di Stati Uniti d'Europa per esaltare la bellezza delle armi: cosa che sarebbe parsa un atto irrispettabile e malvagio anche prima della guerra. Noi siamo sicuri che la lode del Duce per i fuochi, le mitragliatrici, le corazzate, gli aeroplani e i cannoni deve essere considerata solamente come genere di uso interno; ma perché allora egli costringe la sua stampa ad annunciare la sua casalinga rievacuatura di panni come un discorso di importanza internazionale?

Sicuramente egli non poteva aver dimenticato che l'Europa è come una volta acustica, e che l'eco delle sue parole si sarebbe ripetuta risonantemente, specie alle orecchie di quei vicini d'Italia dai quali non si può pretendere una comprensione delle cose italiane così serena come dai lontani, ai quali più facilmente appare certa la vastaggine e la teatralità di questi rumorosi e bellicosi atteggiamenti.

E' facile comprendere le difficoltà di Mussolini. Come tutti i dittatori egli fa dipendere la sua potenza dall'illusione di un centesimo successo. Per essere sicuro, egli deve eccitare i suoi seguaci in maniera che, affascinati dalla spirante aura esotica, dimentichino di vagliare le sue azioni sulla base di un ordinario conto di profitti e perdite. Egli si impadronì del potere con la forza invece di superarlo lentamente: i grandi del sistema parlamentare. Di conseguenza se egli sbagliò sarà annientato, perché, per la natura stessa delle cose, egli non può più, come un capo parlamentare, fare un passo indietro per ritornare su di un terreno normale e sicuro. I suoi discorsi sono probabilmente necessari perché la opinione pubblica possa essere permeata della vanagloria del ongo e il regime fascista possa così essere salvato. Nessi costituiscono nondimeno un doppio pericolo per l'Europa: producono inquietudine nei paesi vicini ed un'abitudine mentale in Italia che, nell'eventualità di un disgraziato incidente, darebbe a qualsiasi onerevole compromesso l'interpretazione di un vile sacrificio del prestigio nazionale.

Nessuno può essere vanaglorioso senza correre il rischio di vedere scoperto il proprio bluff. Per la pace d'Europa bisogna sperare che il bluff del signor Mussolini sia svelato dal suo stesso popolo anziché da una potenza straniera.

E' senz'altro perfettamente vero che il signor Mussolini non desidera la guerra, e che l'Italia non ha i mezzi per farla. Una nazione priva di ferro e di carbone non è certamente in grado di combattere una guerra moderna contando sui soli propri mezzi, mentre nessuno dei probabili alleati è in grado di porgere all'Italia aiuto apprezzabile.

E' anche questa naturale inferiorità che rende l'Italia così ansiosa di rappresentare in Europa la sua parte di Grande Potenza; perché, giudicata dal punto di vista della sua popolazione, della ricchezza della sua vita nazionale, dello splendore storico della sua civiltà, l'Italia è una grande Potenza.

Come la Germania, essa raggiunse la sua unità dopo che i vecchi Stati avevano già diviso il mondo fra di loro. Essa subisce una pressione di popolazione che deve essere alleggerita dalla emigrazione; ma mentre le altre nazioni hanno delle colonie dove possono formare dei domini propri, l'Italia, come ultima venuta, è ridotta a permettere ai suoi figli di diventare cittadini di altre nazioni. Tale situazione deve essere scottante per un popolo di alta coscienza: essa può diventare pericolosa per l'Europa. Di meno nell'Italia di Mussolini molte delle caratteristiche del parvenu, che per quanto naturali non possono facilitare le relazioni

L'AMIRAZIONE DELL'ESTERO PER IL DUCE

L-DG 571 #45

RIPORTIAMO DAL "L'ERE NOUVELLE" ORGANO DEL "CARTELLO DELLE SINISTRE" FRANCESI LE PARTI PIU' INTERESSANTI DI UN ARTICOLO DI EDOUARD HERRIOT, EX PRESIDENTE DEL CONSIGLIO, PROFESSORE DI UNIVERSITA' E SINDACO DI LIONE. QUESTO ARTICOLO HA AVUTO IL MERITO DI FAR PERDERE COMPLETAMENTE LE STAFFE ALLA STAMPA FASCISTA CHE HA VOMITATO UN SACCO D'IMPROPERI E DI INGIURIE CONTRO L'on. HERRIOT E CONTRO LA FRANCIA.

AL CINEMA PARLANTE -

Dovremo dunque noi, sol perché il signor Giuriati, a Roma, pronuncia a sua volta un discorso virulento, uscire subito dai gangheri? Bailby, nell'Intransigeant, ha posto in rilievo i termini dell'ultimatum che ci viene rivolto: "O l'amicizia preziosa o un'inimicizia durissima." E' press'a poco il linguaggio tenuto, prima degli incidenti di Saverne, da quel tale Guglielmo II, che con i suoi colpi di testa è stato condotto ad un prolungato ritiro nei boschi d'una piccola città olandese, dopo che l'Inghilterra non l'ha stimato degno, come Napoleone, degli onori d'un esilio. Sento che certi miei colleghi protestano rumorosamente contro simili minacce, e segnalano all'Europa l'imminenza d'un qualche dramma. Un dramma? Del cinematografo, sì.

Mussolini, infondo, è un savio che si diverte. Egli sa molto meglio di noi quel che succederebbe in Albania, se volesse prendervi piede. Conosce a menadito la carta dell'Adriatico. Sa bene che col popolo jugoslavo non conviene giocare. Sa anche benissimo che i Serbi ed i Croati non sono, come noi - come i Francesi - che egli insulta - uno di quei popoli cioè ai quali l'esperienza della storia conferisce un certo scetticismo e quella facoltà che indica la paziente padronanza di sé: l'ironia.

...

Restiamo calmi. Noi siamo in pace. Siamo ancora in pace. Mussolini cerca di distrarre il suo popolo, ed è un segno di buon carattere. In una epoca in cui d'ogni banda rifioriscono gli studi classici, egli ristampa il Miles gloriosus dell'antico poeta umbro di Sarsina. Ci ricorda la storia, ripresa nell'illusione comica dal nostro vecchio Corneille, di quell'eroe di professione che va minacciando gli uni e gli altri senza averdarsi dei pericoli onde è lui stesso minacciato.

Tutto il XVI secolo, in seguito alle guerre che avevano devastata l'Europa, s'è divertito di capitani simili: il teatro italiano ne piano. C'è Matamoros; c'è Fracassa; c'è Spavento; c'è Rodomonte; c'è Spasamentis; c'è Rinceronete. Io voglio molto bene a Scarioabomarde, pel suo nome modesto. Prima dell'Ariosto già troviamo l'invincibile Rodomonte, colui che trionfava in tutte le guerre immaginarie condotte da Carlo Magno contro i Saraceni africani, rotolando le sue montagne attraverso i poemi del grazioso conte Boiardo, vanto della Corte di Ferrara.

L'amabile fantasia italiana varia all'infinito quel personaggio. La Calabria invia sulla scena nazionale Giangurgolo.

Napoli fornisce Smargiasso, quello che inghiotte i carretti in un boccone. Roma produce Rugantino. E siccome i provocatori vanno ordinariamente in due (è un metodo che offre maggior sicurezza), ecco che nella ombra del Capitano, in quell'ombra di cui si spaventa talvolta egli stes-

GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTÀ #46

Dai bilanci preventivi per gli esercizi 1929-30 e 1930-31 (in milioni di lire):

	Guerra	Marina	Aeronautica	TOTALE
1929-30	2693	1201	700	4594
1930-31	3853	1440	718	5011
Differenza in più	160	239	18	417

Le spese effettive preventivate per i soli ministeri militari nell'esercizio in corso sono superiori di 417 milioni a quelle preventivate nell'esercizio passato. Le spese effettive preventivate per il ministero dei lavori pubblici sono invece passate da 1465 milioni, quali erano nel 1929-30, a 999 milioni nel 1930-31, con una riduzione di 466 milioni.

Nel solo mese di luglio le spese effettive sono state poi aumentate, in confronto al preventivo:

per il Ministero della guerra di 370 milioni
per il Ministero della marina di 109
per il Ministero dell'aeronautica 80

in complesso altri 559 milioni

Armi, armi, armi per l'impero dell'aquila di Predappio.

X-OG 571

Insorgere-Risorgere

X-DG 571 Roma, settembre 1930

GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTÀ

#47

Non vogliamo più pagare 1 miliardo e 200 milioni all'anno per avere uno sbirro dietro ogni porta.

Non vogliamo più pagare mezzo miliardo di contributi alle indebitate cattoliche servono solo come strumento di polizia del regime.

Non vogliamo più pagare centinaia di milioni per i moschetti dei militi, successori di Lang, boia dell'impero d'Asburgo.

Non vogliamo più pagare 6 miliardi di spese militari per una politica imperialistica da paese balcanico.

Non vogliamo più pagare i salvataggi delle imprese industriali e bancarie amiche del governo; la bestialità monetaria del Duce, la stampa gialla nazionale e straniera; la censura postale, lo spionaggio e gli agenti provocatori all'estero; le amanti dei gerarchi, le affermazioni dei "fratelli" Arnaldo; le luminarie, le parate, i raduni, le crociere e tutte le altre ladronerie e cafonerie che distinguono il regime fascista da tutti gli altri governi dell'Europa civile.

Il popolo italiano; che oggi si accorge di pagare anche in contanti per non aver saputo difendere la sua libertà, deve dire: "basta".

Prof. Dott. PARIDE DE BELLA
Ordinario di lettere italiane e storia nei RR. Istituti Tecnici Industriali

X-DG 571 #49

CULTURA FASCISTA

Libro di testo ad uso delle scuole medie

III edizione riveduta e aggiornata
1934 - A. XII



CASA EDITRICE GIUSEPPE PRINCIPATO
MESSINA - MILANO

JC 481

X-DG 571

#50

WHY FASCISM LEADS TO WAR

By
✓
JOHN STRACHEY

5¢

X-DG 571 #52

Collezione "Il Volto Feroce della Reazione"

N° 2

L'hanno ucciso!

Ci pare che anche nella sua morte così tragica ci sia un simbolo e una testimonianza.

Essa ha rivelato in forma drammatica come l'atroce, invisibile lotta che i militanti rivoluzionari debbono condurre quotidianamente per mantenere, nonostante tutto, integre le posizioni della classe operaia di fronte alla classe dominante, comporti il sacrificio della propria vita.

ANTONIO GRAMSCI

(sulla morte di G. M. Serrati).

EDIZIONI DELLA SOLIDARIETA'

1937

Un appel du Parti Communiste Italien
contre le Pacte Rome - Berlin - Tokio.
Titre : « A bas le pacte d'alliance des
fauteurs de la guerre mondiale. »

di alleanza del guerra mondiale!

di unire il popolo italiano, per salvare il paese dalla rovina e perché il popolo sia padrone del proprio destino.

razione di guerra a tutti i popoli, e prepara nuove aggressioni territoriali. Esso esprime la volontà di guerra e gli appetiti imperialisti annessionisti dei tre governi reazionari-fascisti che con i loro misfatti in Abissinia, in Spagna ed in Cina hanno aperto la via ad un nuovo macello mondiale.

« Il Patto di Roma ribadisce l'asservimento dell'Italia ai piani catastrofici ed alle mire espansioniste dell'hitlerismo in Europa e mette in serio pericolo l'indipendenza nazionale del nostro paese.

« Con il pretesto di lottare contro il comunismo, il Patto di Roma mira a combattere le forze di libertà e di democrazia che si oppongono in tutti i paesi alla politica di guerra dei regimi reazionari-fascisti, mira a schiacciare la libertà nell'Europa e nel mondo ed a dividere le forze antiche e nuove che nel nostro paese si orientano verso la costituzione del Fronte popolare per la pace e per la libertà.

« La politica criminale di guerra del governo fascista, sanzionata dal Patto di Roma, rafforzerà la volontà delle masse antifasciste di unirsi, e

« Nel momento del più grande pericolo per il paese, il Partito Comunista d'Italia fa appello a tutti i Partiti antifascisti, alle masse d'ogni corrente politica e di ogni opinione religiosa, a tutti gli amici della pace e della libertà del nostro paese, perché si uniscano in un vasto Fronte popolare che raccolga tutte le forze antifasciste, le masse inquadrare nelle organizzazioni del fascismo e tutti i fascisti decisi a lottare contro la politica hitleriana del governo: per farla finita con la miseria, con la guerra e con l'oppressione.

« Abbasso il Patto tripartito di Roma, patto d'alleanza dei provocatori della guerra mondiale !

« Viva il Fronte popolare italiano della pace e della libertà !

« Abbasso la guerra ! Via dalla Spagna !

« Viva la Unione dei Soviet, forza della libertà e della pace dei popoli del mondo !

« Via Mussolini ! Via il regime fascista !

8 novembre 1937.

IL COMITATO CENTRALE
DEL PARTITO COMUNISTA
D'ITALIA.

X-DG 571

Fronte popolare d'azione contro la politica di guerra del fascismo e per un'Italia democratica

#54

Lettera del Partito Comunista d'Italia al Congresso del Partito Socialista italiano

Cari compagni,

Il vostro Congresso si riunisce in un momento particolarmente tragico per la vita del popolo italiano e dei popoli di tutti i paesi.

La provocazione fascista contro la Spagna e contro la pace si sviluppa ad un ritmo accelerato, approfittando della debolezza colpevole dei governi democratici.

Gli avvenimenti internazionali di questi giorni equivalgono ad una dichiarazione di guerra, da parte dei governi di Roma e di Berlino, contro la Spagna e contro l'Europa. Se il proletariato internazionale ed i popoli non si uniscono subito per far fronte alla provocazione fascista, l'incendio della guerra divamperà in Europa e nel mondo.

Di fronte alla situazione angosciata nella quale si trova il popolo italiano, affamato, oppresso, minacciato d'esser condotto al macello ed alla catastrofe, il nostro dovere è di fare tutti i sacrifici che l'ora richiede, è di unire la classe operaia ed il popolo per costringere il fascismo ad indietreggiare, e spezzare nelle sue mani l'arma micidiale della guerra.

Prendiamo, compagni, senza tardare un'ora sola, la direzione della lotta del nostro popolo per il pane, la pace e la libertà.

Per un'Italia democratica

Quindici anni di regime fascista durante i quali tutte le libertà popolari vennero soppresse per permettere ad un pugno di magnati del capitale di affamare milioni di operai, di contadini, di artigiani, di piccoli esercenti; quindici anni di preparazione della guerra, alla quale fu subordinata tutta l'economia, ed alla quale furono date tutte le risorse del Paese, hanno posto dinanzi alle larghe masse popolari, come un'esigenza imprescindibile, la conquista della libertà e della democrazia.

Libertà e democrazia sono, a nostro avviso, gli obiettivi che unificano tutti gli strati popolari: dalla classe operaia che vede nel loro raggiungimento il mezzo per marciare verso la propria emancipazione sociale e verso il socialismo, ai ceti medi rurali e urbani che vogliono salvarsi dalla rovina dove li conduce il fascismo, a certi strati della borghesia non monopolistica che soffre la dominazione dei trusts e del cosiddetto Stato Corporativo. Libertà e democrazia costituiscono altresì l'obiettivo di tutte le forze di pace del nostro Paese.

Il Partito Comunista d'Italia e il Partito Socialista Italiano, che sono i due partiti della classe operaia italiana, devono prendere la direzione, alla testa della classe operaia, della lotta popolare per la libertà, la democrazia e la pace. Noi comunisti vogliamo lottare assieme a voi, compagni, e assieme a tutti gli operai socialisti, per l'avvento di una Repubblica democratica italiana che si appoggi sulle masse popolari, e che sia il risultato della libera espressione della volontà del popolo.

L'Italia democratica dovrà assicurare al popolo la libertà di associazione e di stampa, la libertà di coscienza e di parola, la piena libertà sindacale e la eguaglianza assoluta di diritti al popolo italiano e ai popoli della Venezia Giulia, dell'Alto Adige e delle colonie.

L'Italia democratica dovrà espropriare la terra dei grandi proprietari fondiari e darla in godimento, con gli attrezzi rurali e con il bestiame, e senza il pagamento di nessuna indennità, ai salariati agricoli e ai contadini con poca terra, e dovrà lasciare il libero godimento della terra ai contadini che oggi la lavorano (mezzadri, fittavoli lavoratori, ecc.), e difendere la proprietà dei contadini lavoratori.

L'Italia democratica dovrà nazionalizzare i trusts industriali e finanziari, passando alla gestione statale le grandi fabbriche e le grandi banche.

Una grande vittoria del popolo contro Mussolini, Hitler

Le truppe italiane ingannate da Hitler sul fronte di Guadalajara del Battaglione Garibaldi e con i

Après Guadalajara

UN APPEL

DU PARTI COMMUNISTE ITALIEN

Titres : « Une grande victoire du peuple espagnol et italien contre Mussolini, Hitler et Franco ». « Les troupes italiennes trahies par Mussolini fraternisent sur le front de Guadalajara avec les volontaires du Bataillon Garibaldi et les républicains espagnols. »

Mots d'ordre : « Il faut créer le bras de Mussolini ! ». « Retirer les troupes italiennes de l'Espagne ». « Paix ! Paix ! Asez de guerre ! ». Diffusé dans toute l'Italie par des dizaines de milliers d'exemplaires.

X-DG 571

Il giorno 8 marzo, le truppe al servizio del generale Franco — truppe composte quasi esclusivamente di quattro divisioni italiane completamente motorizzate e armate fino ai denti — scatenavano una violenta offensiva contro l'esercito repubblicano spagnolo, sul fronte di Guadalajara, al Nord-Est di Madrid.

I repubblicani, che non attendevano questo attacco e che avevano poche forze su questo fronte, dovettero indietreggiare, durante l'8, 9, 10, 11 e 12 marzo, di quasi 40 chilometri, non senza infliggere, tuttavia, delle gravissime perdite alle truppe italiane.

Il facile successo e specialmente la presa di Trijueque e di Brihuega vennero, come è noto, esaltate come una vittoria decisiva dalla stampa fascista, la quale preannunciò con sicurezza, nelle sue corrispondenze dalla Spagna, la presa entro pochissimi giorni di Guadalajara e della stessa Madrid. L'annuncio della presa di Madrid da parte delle truppe italiane avrebbe, anzi, dovuto essere dato a Mussolini durante il suo « trionfale » viaggio in Libia e rappresentarne, in un certo senso, l'apoteosi.

Un'offensiva condotta senza entusiasmo

Ma già durante l'offensiva e l'avanzata delle divisioni italiane si notarono in queste del segni di stanchezza e di demoralizzazione e, soprattutto, la loro assoluta mancanza di entusiasmo nella lotta contro la libertà e l'indipendenza del popolo spagnolo. Infatti, nella notte dal 10 all'11 marzo in piena offensiva fascista, l'eroico Battaglione Garibaldi composto di volontari italiani antifascisti, faceva prigionieri 36 soldati italiani, fra i quali il maggiore Luciano Antonio di Napoli, la cui famiglia abita in via Monte Grappa N. 4 ad Ancona, ed altri due ufficiali.

Il giorno 11 marzo due soldati italiani passavano spontaneamente nelle file repubblicane, portando seco delle mitragliatrici.

Il giorno seguente — ancora durante l'avanzata dell'esercito fascista — i repubblicani hanno fatto altri 8 prigionieri italiani e preso 5 autocarri Fiat, carichi di viveri e di munizioni.

Il contrattacco repubblicano

Il 13 marzo, i repubblicani che intanto avevano ricevuto dei rinforzi, passavano già al contrattacco, e il giorno seguente riconquistavano Trijueque, e il Battaglione Garibaldi faceva un centinaio di prigionieri italiani, conquistava 3 autocarri con molto materiale di guerra, e riceveva, per questa azione, le felicitazioni del generale Miaja, Comandante Supremo delle forze repubblicane del fronte del Centro.

Da quel momento sono cominciati lo sbandamento completo e la fuga disordinata delle divisioni italiane.

La sera del 18 marzo l'esercito repubblicano occupava la importante località di Brihuega, ove aveva sede il Comando delle divisioni italiane. La stessa bandiera del Comando è caduta nelle mani dei governativi. Tra i numerosi e importanti documenti trovati presso la sede del Comando o sui cadaveri di ufficiali italiani — tra i quali un tenente colonnello — abbandonati nella fuga dell'esercito invasore, il seguente ha provocato la più profonda emozione in tutti i paesi, dove è stato fatto largamente conoscere :

Un telegramma di Mussolini che non gli ha portato fortuna

Comando delle truppe volontarie. 13 marzo. Anno XV.

N. 2.759. Oggetto: Telegramma dal Duce.

Ho l'onore di comunicare il seguente telegramma indirizzato dal Duce :

« Ricevo a bordo del Pola, in partenza per la Libia, i comunicati della battaglia in corso nel settore di Guadalajara. Seguo i minimi particolari della battaglia con la certezza che lo slancio e la tenacia dei nostri legionari vinceranno la resistenza nemica.

X-DG 571

#56

La Nuova Carta dell'Unità d'Azione

Il partito socialista italiano ed il Partito comunista d'Italia, solidali da tre anni in una politica di unità d'azione che in Italia, nell'emigrazione, in Spagna ha dato risultati importanti e si è rivelata essere uno strumento indispensabile della lotta del proletariato contro il fascismo e la guerra;

fermamente risolti a consolidare i risultati ottenuti ed a rafforzarli e svilupparli;

concordano nei punti seguenti che costituiscono la nuova carta dell'unità d'azione:

I — Il Partito socialista italiano e il Partito comunista d'Italia, avendo come fine comune l'abbattimento del fascismo e del capitalismo e l'avvento di una società socialista, decidono di consolidare i legami che li uniscono tanto sul terreno dell'azione politica generale, quanto sul terreno del lavoro pratico quotidiano. Essi considerano l'esistenza di un solido legame di fronte unico tra il Partito comunista e il Partito socialista come una delle principali condizioni dell'unità di tutte le forze antifasciste e della creazione in Italia, di un movimento di fronte popolare.

Giuseppe
GADDI

X-06 570

#57

POVERI BIMBI



Edizioni della
Solidarietà
— 1936 —

Marion ROSSELLI agli Italiani

La Signora Marion Rosselli, vedova di Carlo Rosselli, e cognata di Nello Rosselli, assassinati dai sicari fascisti a Bagnolet il 9 giugno 1937, ha ricevuto il 20 agosto — transessuale da Barcellona — la seguente lettera, che ha dovuto fare un lungo giro per giungere fino a lei:

Dalla Patria Italiana, il 15 giugno 1937

Alla Signora Vedova di Carlo Rosselli — Parigi

La giovane e nobile esistenza di Carlo Rosselli ha compiuto la Sua missione sulla terra col sacrificio supremo.

Mentre ancora la dolorosa vicenda è avvolta nel torbido mistero, noi, giovani italiani, fratelli della Sua fede ed eredi del suo pensiero, — vorremmo operare — della Sua opera di Paladino dell'umano, che, congiunge al amore della Patria, formano l'ideale degnamente rappresentato da Carlo Rosselli, portiamo a Voi, Signora, e per mezzo Vostra a tutta la Famiglia doppiamente in tutto, il più profondo senso di compianto, di solidarietà, di dolore.

Lo spirito dello scomparso è tra noi, come tra noi fu sempre la Sua opera, il Suo pensiero. Siamo tristemente colpiti dalla perdita di tale Maestro e dalla vita del mondo che ci ricorda, una volta ancora e sempre, la triste condizione di uomini non più liberi, indifferi dal distruggere e dall'arbitrio altrui, di cittadini cui è vietato compiangere una vittima, amare da fratello, onorare un esemplare.

Solo attraverso quattro Nazioni e col compiacente aiuto di sconosciuti, noi possiamo ricordare e compiangere un amico caduto sul fronte del proprio ideale, un connazionale che ha emato la Sua Patria come la Sua Idea, un giovane erudito che nel martirio elogia e nei festi nazionali esprime, colla dottrina, la coerenza del Giusto e le altre ragioni che cementarono le Sue concezioni, la cui saldezza lo armò di coraggio per le molte prove che l'ingrato destino non gli negò.

Solo attraverso quattro nazioni noi possiamo deportare nelle Vostre mani — Signora — questo messaggio, che alla parola fielle del dolore unisce il grido potente e inattuabile della reazione.

Presso le Tue spoglie, Carlo Rosselli, lo spirito volato ad incontrare Matteotti ed Amendola e i Grandi della Patria Italiana, noi deponiamo i fiori della Patria comune e Te reguiamo, a noi, come a noi, i nostri sentimenti che furono i Tuoi di suggerimento, dopo la tua morte, la promessa, che noi Ti offriamo, come sacrificio di l'arte, che sempre e dovunque, coll'opera, con la parola, colle armi, noi combatteremo contro i Tui nemici, che loro i morti e quelli della grande Umanità che compie il cammino faticoso verso le mete migliori, finché non torni nella patria l'egualianza e la libertà. Anche dal Tuo sacrificio attingeremo nuove forze e nuove tensioni ideali per le tristi ore di oggi, per le lotte di domani. Al trionfo Tu non mancherai! Addio, Carlo Rosselli, gli Italiani per cui Tu hai combattuto e sei caduto Ti amano, Ti onorano e Ti ricordano. Vale!

E Voi, Vedova, e Voi, signora Madre, che sappiamo presso le Spoglie adorate, accettate il nostro ossequio più profondo e deferente e permetteteci di baciarVi la mano.

Ai piccoli figli un bacio fraterno.

Per alcuni e per tutti

La Signora Marion Rosselli avrebbe desiderato recarsi personalmente a parire alla radice di Barcellona per rispondere a questo messaggio generoso. Purtroppo la sua salute non le ha consentito un così lungo viaggio.

Essa però ha voluto che gli autori di quella lettera ricevessero senza ritardo la sua risposta. Essa ha inviato la seguente lettera varesina agli italiani dalla radice di Barcellona:

Giovani italiani, fratelli e congiunti, di Carlo Rosselli, accoglitelo i sentimenti della mia riconoscenza devota per la vostra parola di solidarietà e di fede. Col cuore angosciato invio il mio saluto e il mio affetto alle madri e alle spose italiane che piangono insieme con i loro cari che il regime fascista ha stroncati, ai prigionieri politici che marciano nelle gabbie marmellatiane, soffocando la loro umanità, nelle sequestrati dal mondo. A voi tutti, autentiche d'Italia, i corpi strazati di Carlo e Nello Rosselli gridano ancora la vecchia parola d'ordine: « Non mollare ». L'ASSASSINO DI CARLO NON INTERROMPA PER UN SOLO MOMENTO L'OPERA A CUI EGLI AVEVA DEDICATO LA SUA VITA. « Io non cederò — Carlo aveva nel maggio di quest'anno — altri prenderà il nostro posto ». Prendete voi il suo posto, giovani italiani, nella lotta dura per la giustizia e la libertà.

I SICARI CHE PER ORDINE DI MUSSOLINI TRONCARONO LA GIOVINEZZA DI CARLO E NELLO ROSSELLI HANNO AGGRAVATO IN ITALIA E FUORI D'ITALIA L'ATMOSFERA SINISTRA DI BOSPETTO, DI DISPREZZO, E DI OSTILITÀ CHE GIROREMO ME DEL QUORE. E i morti pesano — disse un giorno Mussolini. Questi due nuovi morti aggraveranno il peso da cui il regime fascista rimarrà schiacciato. Due nuovi martiri, Carlo e Nello Rosselli, sono aggiunti al libro d'oro della libertà italiana, a Matteotti, Amendola, Don Minzoni, Ercoli, Gramsci e ai mille e molti altri, noti e ignoti. Galle semerai di tante vittime sorgeranno i vendicatori.

All'Italia, mia diletta patria d'adempimento, all'Italia che ha dato al mondo gli esemplari di Mazzini e di Garibaldi, a destino, ne ho fede, un avvenire di libertà e di giustizia.

Quell'abbino del mio dolore lo mondo all'Italia di domani il mio grido di speranza e di amore.

X-06 571

#59

Al lavoro italiano
in patria, in Italia
e nell'emigrazione

La pace secondo
giustizia.

Non è questo
l'ideale del popolo italiano?

Mussolini

Un appel commun des Partis socialistes
et communiste Italiens contre les actes
de piraterie dans la Méditerranée.

AL POPOLO ITALIANO

#60

**Le navi da guerra italiane affondano
dei pacifici piroscafi mercantili nel Mediterraneo**

**Per salvare la pace e l'onore dell'Italia
impediamo questi atti di brigantaggio !**

ITALIANI !

Il governo fascista che opprime il nostro infelice paese, fa compiere alla marina italiana degli atti della più selvaggia pirateria nel Mediterraneo, contro i quali si solleva a giusta ragione la coscienza universale dei popoli civili.

Non contento di aver infranto ancora una volta tutti i patti e le convenzioni internazionali, invadendo la Spagna, non contento di aver inviato decine di migliaia di figli del nostro popolo in Spagna, a farsi massacrare come carne da cannone dei generali fascisti e traditori del proprio paese, il governo fascista — divenuto servo e vassallo dell'hitlerismo — ha sferrato una guerra di feroce pirateria in tutto il Mediterraneo, sino alle bocche del Bosforo.

In pochi giorni, quattro piroscafi mercantili, pacifici e inermi, sono stati attaccati a tradimento e affondati da navi da guerra italiane : il « Campeador », il « Conde da Absolo », il « Ciudad de Cadix » e l'« Armuro ». Nessuna intimidazione, nessun preavviso è stato dato all'equipaggio. Al contrario, le navi italiane si rendono colpevoli dell'estrema viltà di impedire il salvataggio di un membro qualsiasi del piroscafo affondato per eliminare tutti i testimoni del crimine.

La nave da guerra italiana « Saetta », affondando a tradimento, di notte, il piroscafo « Campeador », seguiva con i suoi riflettori i tentativi di salvataggio dei membri dell'equipaggio massacrandoli crudelmente con il fuoco delle mitragliatrici.

X-DG 571

400571

AMNISTIA I #61

Amnistia completa per tutti i figli del popolo che furono condannati per delitto d'opinione. Abolizione delle leggi contro la libertà e del Tribunale Speciale, che colpiscono i difensori del popolo, che difendono gli interessi dei nemici del popolo e dell'Italia.

X-77571

#62

**RITIRATE IL CORPO
DI OCCUPAZIONE
DALL'AFRICA
ORIENTALE!**

Giganteschi progressi dell'U.R.S.S.

#63

	1913	1937
Reddito nazionale	100	410
Costruzione macchine	100	2.800
Somma spesa per l'istruzione pubblica	100	5.188
Numero d'allievi	100	470
Libri pubblicati	100	664

X-06 57F

Dati comparativi della produzione nel 1936 dell'industria pesante
e dei cereali in Italia e nell'U.R.S.S.:

Italia	Tonn. di	U.R.S.S.
747.000	ghisa	14.400.000
2.024.000	acciaio	16.400.000
1.714.000	laminati	12.454.000
16.000	petrolio	29.293.000
88.000	carbon fossile	126.400.000
13.000.000	cereali vari	112.000.000
16.000	trattori agricoli in esercizio	452.000
0	mietitrici-trebbiatrici in esercizio	100.000

#64

206 571

Nelle rivendicazioni essenziali per il pane e la libertà, affermiamo la volontà di pace del popolo italiano !

Nelle città e nei villaggi — dappertutto — nei sindacati, nei Dopo-Lavoro, nelle Mutue, nelle Società Sportive — nella vita civile e nelle forze armate — con rivendicazioni parziali, con manifestazioni, con proteste, con affissione di manifestini e con scritte murali, con petizioni individuali e collettive — sviluppiamo l'azione di massa per la liberazione del nostro popolo dalla miseria e dalla schiavitù, dall'incubo terribile della guerra !

Pane ! Pace ! Libertà !

X-DD 571 #65

#66
4-06 571

CATTOLICI, NON E' VERO CHE IL GOVERNO
REPUBBLICANO DI SPAGNA COMBATTA LA RELI-
GIONE. ESSO COMBATTE SOLAMENTE QUEI PRETI CHE,
SI SONO MESSI DALLA PARTE DEGLI SFRUTTATORI, DEI
PARASSITI, DEI NEMICI DEL POPOLO. IL GOVERNO AUTO-
NOMISTA BASCO, DIFENSORE DELLA REPUBBLICA, E'
COMPOSTO DI CATTOLICI PROFESSANTI. MIGLIAIA
DI PRETI E MILIONI DI CATTOLICI SPAGNUOLI
DIFENDONO LA SPAGNA REPUBBLICANA.

X-DG 571 #67

Perchè il Fronte Popolare distribuiva ai contadini poveri le terre dei latifondi, i proprietari feudali e i loro agenti sono insorti. I contadini spagnoli difendono la loro giusta conquista e la rivendicazione dei contadini poveri di tutti i paesi.

Solidarietà al popolo della Spagna. Nessun aiuto ai nemici del popolo spagnolo.

Copia di un manifestino fatto lanciare, a decine
di migliaia di copie, dalla Giunta di Difesa
di Madrid, fra le truppe italiane

x DG 577

68

I soldati spagnuoli ai loro fratelli italiani ingannati da Mussolini e da Franco

Le nostre parole potrebbero essere piene di ira e di rancore e non lo sono. Gli episodi di ogni giorno hanno temprato l'animo di noi spagnuoli che lottiamo per la libertà e che abbiamo appreso, per amore della libertà stessa, a perdonare preventivamente a quelli che, privati della libertà, sono obbligati a lottare contro quelli stessi che, forse, nell'intimo della loro coscienza, essi amano. E' perchè non siete liberi che noi, soldati della libertà, ci rivolgiamo a voi senza rancore e senza odio.

Uomini d'Italia, fratelli di sangue

Per il fatto, forse, che nel fondo della Storia troviamo molte vie che sono state comuni al vostro e al nostro spirito, nemmeno in questo momento in cui voi marciate sul nostro suolo senza una giusta ragione e senza motivo, noi non abbiamo nessuna difficoltà a farvi arrivare la nostra parola cordiale. Nella lotta nella quale siamo impegnati, la ragione è il nostro migliore alleato e quando si ha ragione, come noi l'abbiamo, non è possibile che la passione veli la comprensione. La ragione e la comprensione dettano queste parole. Con esse più che la nostra causa noi vogliamo servire la verità.

Per solidarietà di sangue noi vogliamo farvi l'onore di credere che voi combattete contro di noi perchè voi non conoscete la verità, perchè vi hanno ingannati, perchè vi hanno

Confederazione Generale del lavoro d'Italia

(Confédération Générale du Travail d'Italie)

CAMARADES CONGRESSISTES,

Ces jours derniers, ont été distribuées deux brochures au sujet de la situation italienne dont nous devons tout d'abord en remercier les rédacteurs. Selon celles-ci, l'on voudrait faire croire que la **Confédération Générale du Travail Italienne**, adhérente à la F. S. I., a été dissoute et qu'à sa place en a été constituée une autre. Il nous sera très aisé de démontrer qu'il s'agit d'une des manœuvres communistes coutumières dont le but est de désagréger tout ce qui n'obéit pas aux ordres de Moscou.

La G. G. T. italienne ne fut jamais dissoute.

La délibération du 4 janvier 1927, dont parlent ces tracts, n'a aucune valeur, car elle a été prise irrégulièrement par six personnes sur dix-sept qui composaient le « Conseil Directeur » de la G. G. T. italienne. Seul autorisé à délibérer sur le sort de la G. G. T. italienne était et demeure toujours le Comité Exécutif et cela en conséquence, de deux décisions explicites prises par les organes responsables de la G. G. T., en décembre 1925 et en juillet 1926. Ces délibérations, après quelques considérants, disaient exactement :

« ... en considérant qu'en rapport à cette situation difficile de droit et de fait (créée par le fascisme) il est nécessaire de donner à la G. G. T. d'Italie une organisation unitaire et centralisée... »

« ... étant donnée la nécessité d'un fonctionnement souple des organes directeurs, le Comité Exécutif est autorisé à se valoir de tous les pouvoirs conférés au Conseil Directeur par l'art. 15 du Statut Confédéral. »

C'est sur la base de ces mêmes pouvoirs que le Comité Exécutif, aussitôt qu'il prit connaissance de la résolution adoptée par les six susdits à Milan le 4 janvier dernier, annonça publiquement :

1° Que ladite résolution était illégale et qu'elle n'engageait en rien la G. G. T. d'Italie ;

2° Que, par les accords intervenus avec la F. S. I., la G. G. T. d'Italie s'était transférée à l'étranger afin de poursuivre son activité avec une liberté qui ne lui était plus consentie en Italie.

Dans les brochures, l'on affirme que la décision de transfert du siège confédéral à l'étranger était inconnue en Italie. Or cela est faux. En voici des preuves :

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X-DD571 #69

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X-06571

#73



ANNO XX

PRIMA
MOSTRA
MOBILE
del

FASCISMO

X-DE 571
#74

M. ERCOLI

INSIDE ITALY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

PETER V. CACCHIONE

5c

Supplemento al N. 73 del BECCO GIALLO

Questo opuscolo è la riproduzione testuale di una di quelli che GIUSTIZIA e LIBERTA' pubblica e fa circolare in Italia. D'ora innanzi il BECCO GIALLO riprodurrà per i suoi lettori tutte le pubblicazioni di GIUSTIZIA e LIBERTA' che riuscirà a procurarsi.

« Giustizia e Libertà » si batte per il rovesciamento della dittatura fascista e per la conquista di un regime libero, democratico, repubblicano.

Agisce sul terreno rivoluzionario perchè la dittatura ha reso impossibile ogni altra forma di lotta.

Convoca all'azione tutti gli italiani che si sentono offesi nella loro dignità dalla servitù presente e intendono partecipare attivamente alla riscossa.

Afferma che nell'attuale battaglia sono in giuoco i più alti interessi della classe lavoratrice; perchè solo in un regime che garantisca eguaglianza giuridica e libertà politica, essa potrà realizzare il suo ideale di giustizia economica e sociale.

Afferma che la liberazione d'Italia deve essere opera degli italiani.

Dichiara che la lotta è durissima e impone i massimi sacrifici. Questo è il prezzo del Secondo Risorgimento Italiano.

AGLI OPERAI

PRIMA PARTE

LA CRISI. DI CHI LA COLPA ?

« Se ci lasciano tranquilli per cinque o dieci anni, fra cinque o dieci anni l'Italia sarà irriconoscibile, avrà cambiato faccia, perchè sarà più ricca, tranquilla, prospera, perchè sarà possente ».

MUSSOLINI,
discorso 25 ottobre 1924.

L'Italia attraverso un periodo di gravissima crisi economica; Quasi un milione di disoccupati; centinaia di migliaia di operai che lavorano due o tre giorni per settimana; i salari ridotti del 30 o del 40 % rispetto al 1920-21; un numero enorme di fallimenti, di protesti cambiari, di pegni; la rovina e la miseria di milioni di famiglie... ecco, operai, in che consiste la crisi.

Quanto durerà la crisi?
Mussolini il 2 ottobre ha detto: ancora tre anni!

Noi vi diciamo: Durerà per tutto il tempo che durerà ancora il fascismo. Se il fascismo terrà il potere per altri dieci anni, il popolo italiano marcirà nella crisi per altri dieci anni. Inutile farsi illusioni. Il fascismo è come una gigantesca sanguisuga. Ogni anno succhia al popolo più sangue di quello che il popolo può dare. E il popolo, ogni anno che passa, diventa sempre più debole, sempre più miserabile. Non morirà, perchè i popoli non muoiono. Ma sofferenze senza nome gli avveleneranno la vita.

Mussolini cerca di darci ad intendere che i mali di cui soffriamo sono dovuti alla crisi americana. Falso. « Giustizia e Libertà » è pronta a dimostrare che questi mali sono per nove decimi dovuti alle bricconate, alle ladronerie, agli errori del fascismo. Ecco i fatti:

La crisi italiana è scoppiata nel 1927, mentre la crisi americana è scoppiata nell'ottobre 1929. Un anno prima che scoppiasse la crisi americana le statistiche fasciste confessavano già 500.000 disoccupati (erano molti di più), 1.200 fallimenti al mese,

PICCOLA BIBLIOTECA SPORTIVA

#76

III. IL NUOTO

● X-06 571

IL CRAWL

quale lo praticano gli australiani



Sous la veste d'un manuel de natation
se cache une brochure contre la guerre
d'Ethiopie.

Casa Editrice Treves
MILANO

77.
These clandestine anti-fascist materials are worth preserving; they are the first of the kind actually printed in Italy(I received them from an anonymous sender in Milan) since the establishment of the press censorship in 1925.

X-06

571

#17

#78

Mussolini il Duce dei briganti in
camicia nera, è venuto a Milano
a predicare la guerra.
Milano proletaria lo accoglie con
un grido solo:
ABBASSO IL FASCISMO ASSASSINO!
EVVIVA IL COMUNISMO

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X-06 5711

#81

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EVVIVA IL COMUNISMO**

X-06 571

24 MAGGIO GIORNATA DI SANGUE

Operai, contadini, soldati! Sono passati 15 anni dacché il capitalismo italiano, colpito nei suoi interessi, iniziava il proletariato alla grande carneficina. Seicentomila morti, seicentomila mutilati e invalidi ed il rimanente più o meno minorato; compreso i figli dei combattenti. Perché? Con promesse di miglioramento e di ricchezza e di donazione della terra, seppero ancora una volta portare le falangi dei lavoratori al grande massacro. Quante vite! quante disgrazie! quante delusioni! Quali e quanti amari pentimenti e promesse per una prossima futura!

Operai, contadini, soldati! Ricordatevi, riflettete a quello che avete guadagnato e a quello che avete perduto. Invece della ricchezza 200 miliardi di debito, invece della terra vi spogliarono d'ogni vostro avere e d'ogni naturale diritto; invece della libertà la schiavitù più vile. Vi hanno distrutto le Camere del lavoro, le istituzioni culturali; vi hanno soppresso la stampa e soggiogato le libere organizzazioni sindacali; hanno incarcerato e confinato, facendogli passare ogni sorta di angherie, i migliori e più coscienti lavoratori; molti furono assassinati.

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Mussolini gira ora per l'Italia, seguito dai suoi schierati che acclamano, invitando gli operai e contadini a seguirlo nella prossima guerra.

Lavoratori pensate alle vostre madri, alle spose, ai figli, ai vostri fratelli che saranno maggiormente colpiti, una nuova guerra è la rovina. Bisogna impedirla a tutti i costi. Bisogna che vi organizziate al più presto per opporre una forza compatta al fascismo guerrafaiolo.

Donne proletarie! Unitevi ai vostri compagni e non permettete che i vostri figli, i vostri fratelli, i vostri padri siano mandati alla carneficina.

Operai, contadini! sorge dai vostri petti il grido di W la Russia dei Soviet baluardo della rivoluzione mondiale. Abbasso la guerra imperialista-capitalista, abbasso il fascismo loro d'ensore e guida. W la III internazionale. W il comunismo.

Operai, contadini, soldati! solo con la rivoluzione mondiale si potrà eliminare le guerre.

ABBASSO IL 24 MAGGIO GIORNATA DI SANGUE

Lavoratori disertate i comizi fascisti

X-06 571

24 MAGGIO. GIORNATA DI SANGUE

#83

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monumento di gloria ad un uomo solo? De Bosis confrontava le istituzioni della repubblica americana e quelle della dittatura italiana. Perché tanta differenza? Era dunque il popolo italiano inferiore intellettualmente e moralmente al popolo americano? No. Era più povero. Tanto maggiore era il suo merito se conservava nella povertà le sue belle doti di finezza, di buon senso, di bontà. Perché allora trattarlo in Italia come una mandra di schiavi? Perché descriverlo all'estero come una razza di delinquenti e di selvaggi?

A poco a poco De Bosis diventò antifascista. Un primo segno di questo suo nuovo orientamento spirituale lo dette nell'estate del 1926, organizzando a Roma una commemorazione di Ernesto Renan. La cerimonia riuscì così bene che Pio XI, con quella intelligenza che tanto lo distingue, ordinò che in tutte le chiese di Roma avessero luogo preghiere purificatrici dell'offesa recata a Cristo nella sua città. Nel 1928 gli fu offerto l'ufficio di segretario nella Società «Italia-America». Questa società, mantenuta coi sussidi della Banca Morgan e del Governo italiano, era stata fino allora un centro di propaganda fascista. De Bosis accettò l'ufficio sperando di trasformare l'organizzazione da strumento di menzogne politiche in foculare di cultura italiana imparziale e disinteressata. E realmente nei mesi in cui egli tenne l'ufficio, il Bollettino della società ebbe un andamento onesto e dignitoso. Ma ben presto De Bosis sentì la falsità della situazione e deliberò di uscirne.

II° - ICARO

Nel 1930, pubblicò la traduzione del *Prometeo incatenato* di Eschilo e il poema drammatico *Icaro*. Queste opere indicano il passaggio di De Bosis dalla letteratura alla politica militante.

Prometeo incatenato è il titano che ha strappato il fuoco al cielo per farne dono ai mortali. Giove lo ha punito condannandolo a rimanere in eterno inchiodato su una rupe e un avvoltoio lo tormenterà senza riposo. L'eroe soffre, ma non si arrende.

Icaro e suo padre, Dedalo, sono schiavi di Minosse. Dedalo ha scoperto il ferro, e con questo assicura a Minosse la dominazione del mondo. E' il tecnico che bada solo alla sua arte; vive in solitudine, non ha fede negli uomini, vorrebbe uscire di schiavitù, ma non pensa che a sé stesso: «che so io di tiranni e libertà?». Icaro è il poeta che sogna un mondo nuovo di uomini liberi ed eguali, e intende operare per raggiungerlo. La spada, che suo padre ha regalata al tiranno, egli avrebbe voluto brandirla per liberare il popolo.

*Taluno forse si contenta lungi
da te mischie abbeverarsi,
esule al mondo, di irreali sogni;
ma il mio sogno nel centro della mischia
trarre lo voglio, e sia reale e armato.*

Gli aedi

*nuovi più grandi eroi sognano e gloria
più alta che d'uccidere sul campo
figli di madre e incendiar città.*

— E quale gloria sognano?

— La vera!

*Il tempo dei liberi e dei saggi
su quanto oscuro e prono e iniquo ancora
opprime il mondo: il sorgere d'un tempo
nuovo e ferace e a le vittorie inteso
de lo spirito umano su la morte
materia e su la torpida ignoranza.*

Dedalo costruisce le ali per volare: lui e suo figlio potranno sfuggire alla servitù e tornare liberi nella loro patria. Icaro ha una mira anche più vasta:

Il nuovo

*mondo che sorge senza ceppi e senza
vincoli di muraglie e di frontiere,
uno ed uguale per gli uguali, libero
per liberi, che accerchia le diverse
genti, sfatte dall'odio, in una sola
azzurra patria, luminosa e immensa*

Primo Maggio dell'Unità Socialista

#86

Viva

Libertà e Libertà

R - A

Ai lavoratori italiani in patria e all'estero

Lavoratori,

L'augurio di Primo Maggio è quest'anno nutrito di una grande speranza, che sarà fra breve un fatto compiuto. Il Partito Socialista Italiano è un'altra volta unito. La scissione di Roma, che paralizzò il proletariato quando più avrebbe avuto bisogno di fare appello a tutte le sue energie, la scissione a cui i successi criminosi colpi di Stato fascisti, sopprimendo ferocemente ogni vita democratica avevano tolto qualunque ragion d'essere, è stata cancellata.

Il Congresso di Grenoble del Partito Socialista Italiano, venendo incontro ai voti ripetuti del Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani, ha altamente affermato il suo proposito di por fine alle scissioni e di ricostituire l'unità socialista. Il prossimo dieci giugno, anniversario dell'assassino invenduto di Matteotti, suggerirà nel grande nome del Martire inimitabile, il grande evento: il ricostituito Partito Socialista Italiano aperto a tutti i socialisti che sono decisi a perseverare nella lotta contro la dittatura del Littorio.

Lavoratori,

L'unità socialista non è fine a sé stessa. Non è un punto di arrivo; ma un punto di partenza. E' un atto di fede nel socialismo, che è libertà, redenzione del lavoro, organizzazione della giustizia economica e sociale, che è pace e democrazia. E' un atto di fede nella potenza del proletariato come classe chiamata ad attuare la società dei liberi e degli eguali; ed è altresì un atto di volontà di fronte al fascismo, il quale, folle di orgoglio, vanta di avere soppresso la lotta di classe nella servitù di tutti al più bieco Stato di polizia. E' un atto di volontà che, in faccia alla grande plutocrazia sfruttatrice, afferma non bastare un esercito di camicie nere a frodare il destino della emancipazione del lavoro.

Lavoratori,

Stia a noi, al nostro spirito di organizzazione, di lotta e di sacrificio di affrettare l'alba della libertà italiana e della Repubblica democratica dei lavoratori, in fraternità di opere con le coalizzate opposizioni democratiche e repubblicane. La crisi generale che accompagna il fallimento storico e ideologico del fascismo, dissemina il malcontento. La schiavitù non ha dato neppure il pane, anzi l'ha tolto e fatto più duro ed amaro. La tirannide si è risolta in una corrotta oligarchia avida di empire in fretta il sacco;

mentre l'economia generale del paese va in rovina e la fame è la compagna assidua dei focolai proletari. Al terrore di questa crisi risponde il terrore del regime fucina sempre nuove catene e moltiplicante i mezzi di repressione, con lo spionaggio all'interno ed all'estero, con la vergogna del domicilio coatto, coll'abbominio del tribunale speciale che ha risuscitato il carnefice e che riempie le galere dei più generosi ed impavidi assertori della libertà e del socialismo.

Lavoratori.

Il fascismo, cancellando dal calendario civile Primo Maggio, ha creduto di sequestrarvi dalla munione internazionale della festa del lavoro. V illusione.

Per il Primo Maggio e colla unità socialista vivano i nostri spiriti e risorgiamo in un'ir di lotta. E' la nostra stessa dignità che lo è. La vita non è degna di essere vissuta fuori libertà. Ascoltiamo la voce che ci viene dalle isole della deportazione, dai cimiteri di cionio le spoglie di tanti martiri. Apriamo il cu glioiose promesse che ci porta, dall'ampio attraverso milioni di liberi comizi, il Primo. Qui sono i liberi, qui è l'emancipazione, qui è crazione di ogni menzogna e di ogni oppressione. Italia sono i ferri, la fame, la schiavitù e la co di tutte le forze brutte della menzogna, della vio dello sfruttamento: il re, il papa, la pluto il fascismo, uniti contro il popolo e per asser popolo.

Ma questa oppressione noi l'abbatteremo, noi siamo l'avvenire, noi che siamo il numero e che pendo volere — volere fino al sacrificio — sare anche la forza vittoriosa.

Viva il Primo Maggio!

Viva l'unità socialista!

Viva il socialismo!

Per il P.S.I.

Antonio BIANCHI

Mario GIACCI

Franco CLERICI

Ugo COCCIA

Pietro NENNI

Per il P.S.U.L.I.

Bruno BUOZZI

G. V. MODIGLIANI

Oddino MORGARI

Pallante RUGGINI

Filippo TURATI

X-06 571

Viai come ora fosse grandi e po-

Da lunghi anni vi distorrevate le

Per lunghi anni, quasi misero

(continued)

Eccovi alcune costituzioni in situa-

Ma come era facile liberarsi a po-

mai per lo passato, siete voi for-

No, no. Non capidigia di denaro, nemmeno il vostro spirito, ma

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1038.

Vostro ministero è Piacenza

-Malgrado gli stessi privilegi

age traditions of local indigenous, before transformed in sub-

Largamente provvisti di appa-

100

100

100

100

AGLI UFFICIALI DELL'ESERCITO

L'ESERCITO E IL PAESE.

L'Esercito non fa politica. Presidio della Costituzione e della integrità del suolo della Patria, è la rappresentanza armata della Nazione. Ignora i partiti e li supera. I governi che guidano le sorti politiche del Paese sorgono, si affermano e cadono. L'Esercito rimane, deve rimanere, immutato simbolo della ininterrotta continuità della vita della Patria.

Ma ciò non significa che esso debba vivere estraniato dalla vita nazionale. Estraniati vivevano l'esercito di Raderici nel Lombardo-Veneto, quello del Borbone nelle Due Sicilie, la Legione d'Antiochia a Roma. Appartati, chiusi nelle caserme e nei forti non erano l'espressione dell'anima del Paese, ma temuti strumenti d'oppressione e di tirannide. Essi rappresentavano governi non Patria. Perciò quando la Patria risorse, scomparvero in una colta govtent oppressori.

Il Risorgimento italiano è ancora recente e splende nel ricordo di tutti. Quando l'Esercito ed Armata scindevano la propria sorte da quella del Paese, e di questo soffocavano le aspirazioni più nobili, sorsero gli eroi che infransero i ceppi d'una convizione formale e gettarono audacemente la vita a riconquistarsi con l'anima della Nazione. I fratelli Bandiera non furono esiziosi. Non fu disertore Garibaldi dalla Marina Piemontese, non furono ribelli Salvemini, Morelli e Guglielmo Pepe. E, nel primo albori della liberazione, la grande figura di Francesco Caraculo fu tratto all'antenna come Cristo alla Croce, il vile opportunismo del tempo il bollo d'infamia ma la Patria immortale li onora e venera.

L'Esercito non fa politica, ma può esso ignorare le vicende del proprio Paese? Lo possono gli Ufficiali, che dell'Esercito sono le guide e i capi? Tristi le vicende di quest'ultimo tempo. La guerra ha scovolto incerti l'eco, dovunque. L'Italia è fra le Nazioni più duramente colpite. Prima, lo scomposto sedito di masse guidate da inetti, dopo, una frenetica volontà di abolire un secolo e ritornare al passato. Il rimedio è stato peggiore del male. Fra le due contendenti estreme di sinistra e di destra, in mezzo, l'Italia, soffriva, continua a soffrire.

I treni camminano ma quante volte il viaggiatore non è fermato o aggredito in cammino? La posta arriva puntualmente ma si è liberi di violarne il segreto. La moneta è svalutata ma con essa è ritornata la fame. Non più invasioni hanno da temere le fabbriche ma crisi e serrate. Le

masse non s'agitano più ma vivono schiavi, muto gregge di pecore magre. Dovunque spie, delatori, schiatti. Divisi gli italiani come due razze distinte e l'odio li accanisce, implacabile. Soppressa è derisa ogni libertà politica, civile, umana. Colpito ogni alto di dignità come espressione di spirito folle. La violenza e l'arbitrio, suggeriti, difesi, premiati. Un baratro s'apre dinanzi all'avvenire. Non si trovano due soli cittadini che, alcuni di, non essere uditi, esprimano sul regime, giudizi benevoli. Ma tutti taccono in pubblico o, peggio, consentono, approvano, plaudono. Perché la vita è diventata il sentimento prevalente in questo fosco periodo di proclamato risorgere di valori morali.

Eppure dall'alto, con linguaggio epico i gerarchi s'esaltano e s'additano continuatori del Risorgimento e di Vittorio Veneto.

L'ITALIA DEL RISORGIMENTO.

E' questa l'Italia del Risorgimento? Per una simile Italia non s'afide? Il Re Galantuono la potenza d'un impero e la morte sul campo. Nel lotto cinquant'anni, errante per il mondo, Giuseppe Mazzini. Non per questa Italia Cavour esprime il suo genio e Garibaldi suscitò eroismi.

Gli ideali per cui caddero in lunga catena, i martiri dal '21 all'impresa di Roma, sono quelli stessi che, oggi, il Regime dilagava e calpesta. E pretende di onorare quelli mentre si sforza di abbattere questi. Si è continuato del Risorgimento, quando se ne sottraggono lo spirito e se ne sovvertono i lassi?

Allora tutta Europa seguiva ammirata l'ascesa d'Italia. Dalla tribuna del Parlamento inglese, tuonavano per noi le grandi voci di Gladstone e Palmerston, Kossuth in Ungheria e i continuatori di Kosciuszko in Polonia si battevano con nostri fratelli d'armi e davano giovani sile nostre legioni. Dalla « Giovine Italia » traeva ispirazione il mito della « Giovine Europa ». Come Mazzini, Garibaldi faceva sua la causa di tutti gli oppressi, appariva al mondo il Cavaliere delle leggende eroiche. La Camice Rossa non era un simbolo solo fra noi ma, oltre frontiera, splendeva come la seconda bandiera dell'Italia risorta. Essi immancavano, qui vivevano affascinati lo sguardo quando sentivano il recente valore dell'audacia senza esitanze e della generosità senza calcolo. In un periodo in cui ventate repubblicane mettevano in pericolo i troisi, il nostro Re, il Re leale. Il Re uscito dallo « stacolo di Novara, era l'acciamato condottiero senza macchia e senza paura che, per un

sogno ritenuto utopia, giocava la corona del piccolo ma leale suo regno. E di fronte a lui tacquero, ammirati, repubblicani d'ogni parte.

Senza limiti e l'abisso che divide i due secoli.

L'Italia d'oggi, l'Italia fascista, ha ben mutato sembianza. Il bel cavaliere della leggenda è divenuto il corruccio carneale e la bianca Vestale ha ben mutato i costumi del tempo.

Perché, perché tacere se questa è la nostra tragedia?

Noi siamo ora quel che eramo gli Asburgo in quel periodo. Quando Metternich da Vienna predicava il legittimismo di diritto divino e attorno briguavano re depositi e malacure corone.

Dove sono i nostri grandi? Dove il Re Galantuono?

Mussolini, Farinacci, De Bono, Duemila... E del Re è più decoroso tacere.

Non più in Europa l'anima della gioventù generosa sussulta con quella italiana, non più gli eroi dai cuori immortali sono a nostro fianco. Attorno a noi sono gli « Elmi d'Acciaio » in Germania, gli « Heimwehr » in Austria, i magiati in Ungheria, il Re brigante in Albania. Non più arde la fiamma ma si tenta riaccenderla con dispersi residui di fuochi già spenti. Lo Statuto, vessillo dell'indipendenza italiana, è diventato motivo di ludibrio e di scherno. La Camice Rossa è stata sepolta a Caprera e in sua vece s'è levata, tetra d'odio e di morte, la Camice Nera. Al suo apparire, in Italia, si tace e si trema; oltre i confini, si accende violenza, la zuffa. Ecco il nuovo simbolo dell'unità della Patria!

L'ITALIA DI VITTORIO VENETO.

Questa l'Italia di Vittorio Veneto? La generazione che ha fatto la guerra non può averne perduto il ricordo. Quanti di noi hanno vissuto le giornate del 1915 non dimenticano.

Un trattato ci legava agli Imperi Centrali. Vano è quel rievocare le cause della guerra. Sull'Esercito parve passare la minaccia di un dominio violento e brutale. La gioventù italiana, l'Italia leonora e « oltre la guerra, l'Italia ».

Non solo per offrire alla Patria una più giusta e sicura frontiera, ma per un desiderio ardente di libertà e di giustizia. Per questo, soprattutto, noi facemmo la guerra. Per questo sogno caddero i nostri compagni migliori. E « raffermò » il diritto dei popoli a decidere, in libertà, del proprio destino. Gli ideali per i quali noi gettammo il voto la nostra rinvenenza, sono quelli stessi che oggi il Regime « ita-

CE QU'EST LE PARTI RÉPUBLICAIN ITALIEN (P.R.I.)

et ce qu'il a fait contre le fascisme

(Par le Bureau de presse du P. R. I.)

La position du PARTI RÉPUBLICAIN ITALIEN (P. R. I.), vis-à-vis des autres partis socialistes et démocratiques italiens, est caractérisée par le fait qu'il pose d'une façon claire et précise le problème d'un régime politique sincèrement démocratique (et qui ne peut pas être, par conséquent, monarchique) en le considérant comme un moyen d'éducation nationale et d'émancipation des classes laborieuses.

Les républicains italiens pensent que toute véritable démocratie doit être républicaine, doit travailler pour la république, doit la défendre quand elle est atteinte. Mais à des raisons générales il en faut ajouter une tout à fait particulière, propre de l'histoire moderne italienne, c'est-à-dire que la monarchie a toujours été en Italie une redoutable force de réaction, opposée — dès les premières luttes pour l'unité et l'indépendance du pays — à tout mouvement de démocratie et de liberté.

Le socialisme des républicains italiens.

Le Parti Républicain se réclame — tout en se proposant de les développer — des principes de la révolution française.

Au point de vue social il est un parti socialiste, pourvu qu'on ne veuille exclure du mouvement socialiste international les partis qui ne se réclament pas, d'une façon très étroite, de la doctrine marxiste. La coopération et la gestion des moyens de production et d'échange par les travailleurs associés, sont des vieilles conceptions républicaines, propagandées en Italie dès la première moitié du siècle passé.

L'opinion française, pour laquelle le mot « républicain » tout court possède aujourd'hui une signification vague et incertaine, doit bien faire attention de ne pas rapprocher les républicains italiens aux groupements conservateurs et modérés qui en France s'appellent tout simplement — et pour cause — républicains.

Dans une république italienne de demain, dans laquelle les relations réciproques entre les partis seraient analogues à celles qui se passent entre les partis français d'aujourd'hui, le parti républicain italien occuperait une place à peu près semblable à celle de la fraction la plus avancée des radicaux socialistes, ou, d'une certaine façon, à celle du parti socialiste S.F.I.O. Nous avons dit « à peu près » parce que notre parti, issu des conspirations et des luttes pour l'indépendance du pays, a une physionomie et un « tempérament » politiques qui lui sont tout à fait propres.

Les principes idéaux de la lutte contre le fascisme.

Après la fin de la guerre européenne le parti républicain, tout en demandant que les résultats de la victoire — atteinte au prix de tant de sacrifices et de sang — ne fussent pas rendus vains, réclama surtout que la paix fut juste. Par conséquent les républicains italiens firent face avec décision à la mégalomanie nationaliste et aux troubles et équivoques instincts de réaction du mouvement fasciste naissant.

Devant le réel danger du fascisme, le parti républicain ne fut pas dupe des vagues idées de démocratie qu'agitaient les fascistes de ce temps-là. Au contraire, il oublia les différends qui l'avaient séparé des socialistes pendant la guerre et pendant la période immédiatement suivante, et s'employa à fond pour la défense active du prolétariat italien.

Dans la lutte politique contre le fascisme, les républicains réclamèrent des solutions nettement démocratiques et républicaines, sans s'égarer dans le labyrinthe des manœuvres monarchiques et des escarmouches ministérielles parmi les différents groupements parlementaires.

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IL SINDACATO
LA FEDERAZIONE NAZIONALE
LA CONFEDERAZIONE



A. XIII

ISTITUTO NAZIONALE FASCISTA DI CULTURA — ROMA

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**COMMON
SENSE** Ex-DG 572

February, 1943

Break Up Italy?

*Do we want the
Italian people
as enemies?*

By Gaetano Salvemini

ONE should never tire of stating and re-stating that the Italian problem is but a local fragment of the whole European problem; that its solution is a test case of the mentality with which the European problem is being approached; that if the solution of that local problem is bungled, we can rest assured that all other European problems will be approached in the wrong way; that a wrong solution of the European problem would bring about a terrible crisis of disappointment, isolationism, and Fascism in this country; and that the fate of North American democracy hinges on the right or wrong solution of the European problem.

The London *New Statesman and Nation*, in its issue of November 7, 1942, deplored the plans of "certain influential circles" in Britain which hold that when they have won the war, they should create a new balance of power in the Mediterranean, and that they should obtain it by "strengthening" some of their smaller allies and by "weakening" or even breaking up Italy. "Listening to some of these plans for European reconstruction takes one back to the peacemakers who used to carve up Europe in the eighteenth century."

If one wants to get a glimpse of what those eighteenth century ideas mean, one has but to read the editorial of the London *Nineteenth Century and After* of November 1942, p. 197:

No exceptional insight is needed to see what British foreign policy ought to be—the policy indicated by the words *balance of power*. . . The purpose of Allied operations against Italy should be a separate peace on the most moderate terms possible. She must of course be disarmed, she must withdraw from the Balkans and cede Istria (with Trieste, Fiume and Pola) to Yugoslavia. She must restore the Greek Islands to Greece. She must surrender the island of Pantelleria for strategic reasons. She has already lost Abyssinia. The future of Libya and Cyrenaica must be determined, above all, by the demands of *British Mediterranean strategy*. . . She should not be made to suffer any undue humiliation or exactions. . .

In the London weekly *Picture Post* of November 21, 1942, Commander Stephen King-Hall, an influential M.P., states that if Italy breaks away from Hitler, "the United Nations will respect the territorial integrity of the mainland of Italy. Italy's frontiers will be as in 1914" (italics ours). The "mainland" of Italy means Italy minus the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. And the frontier "as in 1914" means that not only the German-speaking South Tyrol, and the compactly Slavic territory with a population of about 250,000 in the hinterland of Gorizia, Trieste, and Istria, but also Trentino, Gorizia, Trieste and Istria will be severed from Italy. This would be the reward of the Italians if they broke away from Hitler and helped the United Nations in their war against Nazi Germany. Commander King-Hall does not say what the Italians should expect if they did not comply with the summons to join the United Nations. We can guess: utter dismemberment.

The motives underlying this plan are obvious. The wise men of the British Foreign Office have never taken seriously any attempt at setting up a system of "collective security" in Europe. Therefore, they have to secure for the British Navy and Air Force the control of the Mediterranean. As a result of submarine and air warfare, the small island of Malta is no longer suitable for that purpose. Sicily and Sardinia would afford the needed opportunities for air and naval bases. The British Admiralty (the "influential circles" of the *New Statesman*) covets them.

Starvation and Plebiscites

To be sure, section one of the Atlantic Charter told us that Britain and the United States "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise." But Great Britain will never seek that aggrandizement. It will be all the other United Nations

EXPEDIENCY IN ITALY

By GAETANO SALVEMINI

THE OFFICIAL communiqués spoke of Italian “unconditional surrender.” Let us not be deceived by words. “Military” unconditional surrender does not exclude “political” agreements paving the way to military surrender. *The New York Times*, which has to be regarded as one of Mr. Cordell Hull’s personal organs, on August 6, made it clear that “the phrase unconditional surrender has been applied only in *its military sense*. We do not demand that Italians surrender unconditionally to us *so far as their political, economic, or social future is concerned*.” (Our italics.) On August 2 the same paper published a letter from an anonymous correspondent which was not likely to displease the State Department and from which we learned that the term “unconditional surrender” had become outmoded: “there are no longer reasons to fear a negotiated peace”; “any surrender must be a surrender under at least complied conditions.

The diplomatic game of give and take must have been not at all easy and this is why it was so slow. Only when negotiations had come to a happy end the news of surrender broke the air on September 8, that is fifty-three days after Mussolini had been superseded by Badoglio, without counting the months taken by negotiations which had led to the military *coup d’état* of July 25.

In return for the advantages which were to accrue to the Allies for “military” unconditional surrender, what advantages would the King of Italy and his Badoglios secure concerning Italy’s “political or economic or social future”?

We do not know. Pius XII knows. But we can guess what terms we’ve asked for and we know what terms should never have been granted.

The King and his Badoglios no doubt asked the Allies a positive pledge of support against popular uprisings. If a merely negative pledge was given, the deal would not be objectionable on any grounds. The Allies are waging war. They are not stirring up revolutions. Revolutions may be the outcome of their victory, but revolution is not their aim.

ADDRESS GIVEN BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, MASS.

ON DECEMBER 19th, 1943

#93

3 13 89

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This meeting has been called by The Friends of Italian Freedom, American citizens of Italian extraction, with the co-operation of fellow citizens of many other European origins. We shall always remember their help with gratitude.

If in these United States of ours men and women originating from all countries of the world can live peacefully side by side, nay co-operate;—if even in Switzerland, in the heart of Europe, Germans, French, Italians and Latins can live peacefully side by side, nay co-operate;—there is no destiny in heaven or hell that ties up the peoples of Europe to eternal strife. Four centuries ago European peoples were killing each other in religious wars. To-day they are killing each other in national wars. Religious wars came to an end.

Equal rights were granted to all religious denominations. National wars will come to an end as did the religious wars, when decent men and women everywhere in the world come to realize that with equality of rights and freedom granted to all they can live in peace even though they occupy different territories and speak different languages.

We who came from so many diverse European stocks and have joined hands in Boston to make this meeting possible, hope and pray that the tragedy of to-day will persuade the peoples in whose midst our ancestors or we ourselves were brought up, to put an end to their mad and nefarious wars. Meanwhile let us honor the memory of the Founding Fathers who established this republic on the rock of liberty for all and thus made our co-operation in this meeting possible.

We are not here to-day to beg for pity for the battered and shattered Italian people. We demand that we be allowed to help them as much as we can.

We are about five million citizens and residents of Italian extraction in this country. Each one of us has relatives and friends in Italy. Everybody in Italy needs food, clothes, medicines, everything. We are willing to assist them. We know, one by one, men

and women who are in need. Our help would go directly to them, with no bureaucratic delay and no danger of the help being squandered by ignorance or misdirected by favor. Through helping our relatives and friends we would make relief by government agencies unnecessary for them. If there is a case in which the much heralded "free enterprise" should be encouraged, nay requested to come in, this is it.

Perhaps packages of food, clothes, medicines, would take room on ships which are needed for military purposes. But letter, and money orders do not weigh tons. The only thing we need is to have postal services restored. Sicily has been at peace for three months. Postal services should be reestablished with Sicily without delay and with those sections of the mainland which are under Allied control as soon as possible.

Our second request is to the effect that none of the territories in Europe which are inhabited by a population whose national feeling and traditions are Italian, be severed from Italy, when peace is made.

The Dodecanese Islands are inhabited by Greeks and not by Italians, and therefore must go to Greece. Albania is Albanese and not Italian and must be left to the Albanese. The Eastern section of the territory which is called Venezia Giulia by the Italians and Julian March by the Slavs, is inhabited by a compact Slav population and must go to Yugoslavia.

These territories will have to be severed from Italy, not because the Italians have been defeated, but because they had no right to be there even before they were defeated.

On the other hand the territories inhabited by populations whose national feeling is Italian must not be severed from Italy. Human beings are not cattle to be traded by diplomats and politicians. They possess personal, political and national rights. These rights must be respected after the damage done by abusing them has been repaired.

We are concerned especially with the fate of Sicily. On the twenty-second of last September, the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Eden, speaking in the House of Commons stated that "perhaps the strongest

party of all in Sicily is the party that stands for separation from the Italian mainland altogether." He added: "We have not the least intention of annexing the island, nor should we, at any time." He did not say that His Majesty's Government hadn't the least intention of severing Sicily from the mainland and then putting it under a British protectorate. As for his statement that the strongest party in Sicily is for independence from the mainland, he was stating just the opposite of the truth even though he said that "these matters have been studied with some little care." There is in Sicily as in all parts of Italy a strong demand for administrative decentralization, but not for national dismemberment. To be sure, there are in Sicily, some crazy individuals in that lunatic fringe which is to be found everywhere. If I was allowed to occupy Scotland for no more than six months and if I had at my disposal a sufficient number of agents and financial means, I bet that I would create in Scotland a movement for independence. With the same facilities I would have the same success in Brooklyn (New York) or even in Washington, D. C.

We regard a cordial and permanent co-operation between America and Britain as the first cornerstone without which no peaceful world can be built up. But this new world must be a commonwealth of free nations and not a preserve of the British Admiralty, Air Force and Colonial Office.

If questions of this kind are to be solved by force alone, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain is more powerful indeed than any one of us. But if they are to be solved on the ground of reason and justice, the humblest man among us is an equal of any Foreign Minister of the most powerful treaty country. On this ground each one of us if he is duty bound to state after all crimes. No less than Mussolini is he responsible for the Greek and must therefore go to Ethiopia War and for the inter-Greece, is also entitled to warn intervention in Spain. The treaty of al-

the British Foreign Minister, in alliance with Hitler of May 1939 connection with Sicily that he which ushered in the present world should keep "hands off." One irreparable disaster, was agreed to and signed and in British history should be not only by Mussolini but by the enough. And each one of us is an king also. He signed the death titled to tell our State Department warrant of royalty on the day he that its duty is to discourage the joined hands with Mussolini in at-British Foreign Secretary in his attacking France and Britain. He

Sicilian fancies.

The third request we wish to put before the American Government is to the effect that the Italian people be really left untrammelled freedom to choose their own form of government when this war is over.

We do not claim any right to impose on them from America the solution of their constitutional and other domestic problems.

But everything we know about conditions in Italy to-day leads us to the conclusion that if the Italians are left free to do what they want, the overwhelming majority of them will do away with royalty and establish a democratic republic on the pattern of Switzerland and the United States.

The world-renowned Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce, has nothing but harsh words for King Victor Emmanuel and his family who have demeaned themselves in a manner that he considers ignoble. Even if the Allies reconstitute the King or his son in Rome, Croce does not believe they will remain long on the throne. Yet Croce belongs to the most conservative wing of the anti-Fascist movement. Reverend Luigi Sturzo, the potential leader of a Christian Democratic Party in to-morrow's Italy, agrees that a republic has become inevitable in Italy. Even more positively all the left-wing Liberals stand for an Italian republic. There is unanimity among all thinking Italians on this score. Arturo Toscanini expressed an opinion unusual in Italy to-day when, last September he condemned "the fainthearted and degenerate King" and advocated a republic.

The King of Italy was, for nearly twenty years, Mussolini's indispensable accessory before, during and after all crimes. No less than Mussolini is he responsible for the Greek and must therefore go to Ethiopia War and for the inter-Greece, is also entitled to warn intervention in Spain. The treaty of al-

METHOD IN STUPIDITY

By GAETANO SALVEMINI

—While nothing was being done to create among Italian prisoners a democratic mind which might be put to use in Italy during post-war reconstruction, the British Ministry of Information chanted, in all possible keys, the anthem of Italian cowardice.

AFTER General Wavell's blitzkrieg in Libya in the Spring of 1941, there were wide opportunities for a democratic re-education of the Italian prisoners in the Near East. Many among them, not only privates but officers, were angry with Mussolini. They applauded anti-Fascist speakers at improvised meetings. The idea spread among them that an anti-Fascist legion should be formed. In the beginning, British local authorities favored this plan, and segregated the anti-Fascist prisoners from the Fascists. A thousand privates and ninety-two officers including a colonel had already joined the group. At this point Fascists and anti-Fascists were again put together under the control of Fascist officers and N.C.O.

The idea that from among the Italian war prisoners under British control a legion of anti-Fascist volunteers should be raised, was not peculiar to the war prisoners in Egypt. The London *New Statesman*, in its issue of May 17, 1941, published the following item:

What are we doing with our Italian prisoners of war, who now number more nearly 200,000 than 150,000 men? They are thoroughly disillusioned with the Fascist regime, but most of them are political illiterates. Has it occurred to our military authorities that we might help them to educate themselves? The more intelligent of them would welcome books to while away their long captivity. An Italian friend of mine, one of the ablest adversaries of Fascism since its early days, makes a suggestion which I should like to commend to Whitehall. It is that we should reprint for their use, of course in Italian, a few outstanding books which could recall to them the free traditions of their motherland. Silone's masterpiece of satire, *Pontamara*, might rank first, with his even more moving *Bread and Wine*, and to these one might add the classical lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi. This might begin the process of re-education. Probably it is too

optimistic to look to these prisoners as part of a Free Italian or Garibaldian Legion, but we might find some very useful political material if the intention is some day to promote a democratic revival in Italy. The priests in whose care they now are will not turn their minds in that direction.

Most likely, a few months of well-planned intellectual and moral preparation, would have yielded a sufficient number of men willing to enroll in an Italian legion. It would not have been they who would have brought victory to the United Nations. They would have been utilized in military operations with the aim of creating around them prestige resulting from bravery and sacrifice and promoting unrest in Italy. On the day the Fascist regime in Italy collapsed, a few thousand well-equipped and well-disciplined men who had established themselves in Rome and other important cities while everything was in a state of confusion and perplexity, would act as rallying points for wider military organizations and form the skeleton of the forces for the defense of the new political regime. He who holds the more important northern cities in a country like Italy, endowed with a centralized civil service, will hold the entire country, especially if the population is fed and finds work thanks to the friendly relations between the Provisional Government and the victorious Powers. That small army of Italians after contributing to the war of liberation would have made unnecessary for the new regime the support of foreign armies.

Nothing was ever done along those lines. The souls of the Italian war prisoners were entrusted to the cares of an Apostolic Delegate who, in the Fall of 1941, took a large group of those in Palestine to visit the holy places at the expense of the Pope. The *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper, November 18, 1941, rejoiced at such "an initiative, certainly without prece-

dent among prisoners of any war." Anyone who knows the friendly feelings of Pius XII and of most high Italian prelates towards the Fascist regime, need have no fear that information and opinions displeasing Mussolini will ever find their way to the Italian prisoners through Pius XII's delegates.

In England and India also the camps of Italian war prisoners are under the control of Fascist Officers and N.C.O. This is why a correspondent of the *New York Times* found in India the following situation.

Politically, the Italian prisoners are all most cautious; some are rabid Fascists or act that way, but most of them are indifferent, although they are careful not to antagonize the Fascist-minded. A few admit to being anti-Fascists. The commandant said they were "terrified" of anything which smacked of propaganda. They will not listen to the radio, are afraid to read newspapers and whenever anything is done for them they are suspicious. (*New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1942)

Those "few" prisoners who admit that they are anti-Fascist, must be plucky and stubborn men indeed if they are prepared to challenge not only their own Fascist supervisors but also the British overlords of their supervisors.

The British Government gives the Geneva Convention which pledges the Governments not to carry on any political propaganda among war prisoners, as the reason why no democratic education is being allowed. This worship of the Geneva Convention deserves unbounded admiration at a time when all conventions are disregarded by everybody. Obviously what the Fascists who are in control of the prisoners, say and do, is not political propaganda. The above-quoted *New York Times* correspondent wrote: "We could not visit or talk to individual prisoners because that is forbidden by the Geneva Convention." The prisoners, however, have

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Freedom of Worship in Italy

X-DG 572 #95
by
GAETANO SALVEMINI

On November 4 the Associated Press made it known that "the Italian situation is still far from clarified, no less in the minds of the AMG officials than in those of AMG critics at home."

No wonder. On September 25 the *New York Times* stated that "AMG in Italy is still operating sotto voce as far as the outside world is concerned. Every so often the AMG tells of its accomplishments in Sicily, but not a peep comes from the AMG in Italy." After September 25 information about Sicily has dried up almost completely. As for Sardinia, this land is for us what central Africa was for the mapmakers of the Middle Ages; they used to cover it with the words: "Here the lions dwell." Most likely Sardinia is being kept sealed for military reasons. But in Sicily war subsided three months ago and one cannot guess what kind of military requirements prevent the American public from knowing how the blood of their boys, the money of their purses and the prestige of their country are made use of in that part of the world. They have only been informed through the obviously semi-official handout of the Associated Press of November 4 that "the machinery of AMG is running more smoothly in Italy than it did in North Africa", but "some of its main bearings still need oil." On the other hand, Mr. E. Ansel Mower in the November 9th issue of the *New York Post* stated that "shocking reports seeping back from occupied Italy through the censorship are gradually revealing that the British and American authorities have committed all the errors there that they did in North Africa — and with much the same unfortunate effects.... Our leaders in Washington do not seem to understand what they are doing." Thus it would seem that the main bearings which need oil are to be traced to Washington and London rather than to Italy.

Under such conditions the only thing an uninformed and innocent individual living in America can do is to catch some occasional glimmer of light which may pierce the secrecy and wonder what portents that glimmer may reveal.

All in all it is safe to think that AMG does the best it can under most difficult circumstances as far as rehabilitation of material damage is concerned, and that when the men on the spot are left a free hand in dealing with personal matters, they display common sense, humanity and resourcefulness. The danger arises when bigwigs and brasshats handle problems of general policy.

On July 18 the *Daily Oklahoman* gave a dispatch of the Associated Press which ran as follows:

"Parish priests in Sicily are taking the place of Fascist municipal officials in small towns and villages captured by the Allied Armies."

Never have the parish priests in Italy acted as municipal officials. This privilege was bestowed upon them by American and British authorities, as if in the small towns and villages of Sicily among the laymen independent of the Fascist movement there were no one capable of acting as municipal officials, and as if parish priests alone were to be regarded everywhere as anti-Fascists, which is not the case at all.

To unearth this information one had to go to Oklahoma. The public in the East was not deemed worthy of enjoying such a gift. It appears that through friendly news agencies the Administration feeds the different States of the Union on different foods, so as to please some without displeasing others. Perhaps the news that the parish priests in Italy were acting as municipal officials, while pleasing the readers of *Oklahoma*, might cause some dissent in Florida or Maine.

On August 14 the *New York Spanish* daily, *La Prensa*, gave a dispatch from the Associated Press, which, after reporting that General Alexander had had a cordial talk with Cardinal Lavitrano, archbishop of Palermo, went on:

"The ecclesiastical authorities cooperate with the Allied Military Government. As a consequence General Alexander suggested that the priests and nuns should help in taking care of the children in the region devastated by war. He suggested also that wherever possible the public schools should be reopened and go on in their educational work UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITIES."

This "story" would not have reached the headquarters of the Associated Press in Washington and from there the premises of *La Prensa*, had the censors of Palermo, Algiers, London and Washington not allowed it to pass. We can therefore assume that it was true. Yet it was not given by the other papers. Perhaps while *La Prensa* was giving out the story, somebody in Washington realized that it might arouse criticism somewhere and instructed the "gentlemen of the press" to "kill" it.

To understand the significance of that information one has to know that in Italy, under the pre-Fascist regime, a network of secular schools was created by the central and local governments which went from kindergarten to university, and over which the Catholic clergy had no control. Side by side with the secular schools, maintained by the taxpayer's money, private schools were allowed to exist, and not a

Freedom of Worship in Italy

X-DG 372
by #96
GAETANO SALVEMINI

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#97

3 13 50
11 Nov**"NATURE"**

OR

"CIVILIZATION"

Dear Sirs: My article *Fascism Without Mussolini*, in *The Nation* of January 30, prompted a letter which embodied opinions widely spread in this country and therefore worthy of discussion:

Your article in *The Nation* on *fascism* Without Mussolini raises a question which has been much in my mind about the political future of Italy—and of France also, for that matter. Perhaps you should write another article telling how the "Italian Democratic Republic" can be constituted *after* the war, since no such answer to Mazzini's prayers was vouchsafed *before* Mussolini. Certain it is that parliamentary government had broken down before the Duce appeared (I was there during the World War and the Armistice and saw much of this process); and indeed the Italian government, so long as it was strong, was always a veiled dictatorship, whether Cavour or Crispi or Giolitti happened to be at the helm. It's a very old story as the history of Rome would attest. It almost seems as if parliamentarism—which is the essence of the "Democratic Republic," as the English-speaking peoples understand it—were alien to the Latin nature; for neither France, nor Italy, nor Spain, nor Portugal, nor the Central and South American countries really succeeded in establishing it on a firm foundation. Whether the Slavs have that particular type of political genius remains to be seen: the Czechs alone so far seem to give an affirmative answer. The Scandinavians, yes; the Germans, hardly. The people who have bitterly assailed recent action in North Africa by our representatives seem unconscious of that problem. I should like to see *your* answer to it.—J. S. N.

When one writes, "The Italian government, so long as it was strong, has always been a veiled dictatorship, whether Cavour or Crispi or Giolitti happened to be at the helm," one should define the meaning of the word "dictatorship." If one means that in Italy the Prime Minister shaped the country's policies, the statement is correct. But in this sense Roosevelt's America also is a "dictatorship." Bernard Shaw's basic argument in favor of Hitler and Mussolini was always that Great Britain no less than Italy and Germany

was a "dictatorship." In fact, in Great Britain the Prime Minister, when backed by a solid parliamentary majority, controls domestic and foreign policies.

However, when one puts together in the same dictatorial box Cavour and Mussolini, Roosevelt and Hitler, Churchill and Stalin, one must distinguish again between a "dictatorship number one" in which anyone criticizing and opposing the men in power is dispatched to jail or to the next world, and a "dictatorship number two" in which the right to criticize and oppose the men in power is granted to the citizens.

"Dictatorship number two" in former times was termed a "free regime." I, being seventy years old, intend to stick to traditional terminology and go on terming it a "free regime." Piedmont was a "free" regime from 1848 to 1860. Italy was a "free" regime from 1860 to 1922. I was an opponent of Giolitti from 1902 to 1914 and a critic of the Italian government during the First World War. Nobody dispatched me to jail or to the next world. Nobody ever thought of dismissing me from my teaching positions at the universities of Messina, Pisa, and Florence. But in 1925 I had to leave Italy.

A "free" regime permits habeas corpus, freedom of the press, of association, of assembly, trade-union freedom, religious freedom, freedom of teaching, elective local government, parliamentary institutions, etc. These institutions did exist in Italy. They do not exist now. They make the difference between a "free" and a "dictatorial" regime.

Parliament, one of the institutions of a "free" regime, was working rather poorly in Italy. But what were parliamentary institutions in England before the Act of 1832? England had to go through a process of trial and error

during the whole of the nineteenth century—must we recall the Chartist movement of 1848?—before it settled down to a form of government we admire. To be sure, we do not forget that British national elections in 1924, 1931, and 1935 were won by the Conservative Party through three swindles—the Zinovieff letter in 1924, the put-up scare about the Post Office savings in 1931, and the fraudulent promise to stand by the League of Nations in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute in 1935. Such swindles, however, are part and parcel of that process of trial and error through which mankind has to pass in its endeavor to grow less imperfect.

Is political freedom a particular privilege bestowed by the Almighty God upon the Britons and those in America who claim to have British blood in their veins even if it is Irish or German, and even if not all immigrants originating in England belonged to precisely the same moral breed as the Pilgrim Fathers?

There is a brutal German Nazi doctrine of the Nordic race, and there is another doctrine of race soaked with suave Anglo-Saxon cant: "You are unworthy of reaching our heights; we are endowed with a parliamentary nature, a parliamentary genius; you have to be content with dictatorships." The notions of "nature," "genius," "instinct" spring from the assumption of something primitive, permanent, and unchangeable—"race."

Switzerland does not consist of born-on-the-lap-of-Jove Anglo-Saxons, but of Germans, French, Italians, and Latins. Yet all these Swiss may teach the "chosen" Anglo-Saxon peoples many lessons in democracy. Switzerland has as yet produced no Neville Chamberlain, nor John Simon, nor Samuel Hoare, and no Ku Klux Klan, Huey Long, or Mayor Hague. Of course the Swiss also had to learn through trial

X-DG 572

#98

The New 3
REPUBLIC

August 16, 1943

Two Wars Against Italy . . *Gaetano Salvemini*

FIFTEEN CENTS

What Price Badoglio and the King?

X-06 572 #99
One of the correspondents of the *New York Herald Tribune*, on September 21, described the remnants of what had been the Italian army:

1 3 43 50
Last March gigantic strikes broke out in the industrial cities of Northern Italy. The Fascist dictatorship was unable to forestall or to repress that upheaval. The Fascists themselves had become bewildered and were no longer willing to keep down the populace. It became apparent that the machine of repression had cracked up. During the following months strikes and sabotage went on unabated. Then came the fall of Tunisia and the invasion of Sicily. American and British soldiers were everywhere in Sicily greeted as "liberators". Here is what a British officer, well acquainted with Italy, who had been serving in Sicily, wrote to Mr. Ivor Thomas, British M. P.:

"I was more moved than at any time in my life by the welcome we received. The Italians clung to a man were on our side and it is clear that for more than three years the underground movements have been quietly working on our behalf. Everyone, old or young, educated or uneducated, whether peasant, artisan or industrial worker, had listened religiously to the B.B.C. during the past two or three years. They believed what they heard. In small villages workmen would assemble in each other's house in the evening to listen to the news and the commentaries; the next morning the news would be spread throughout the villages. The same was true of the towns. The B.B.C. was regarded as the official voice of England and England was looked upon as a beacon of democracy and civilization."

After Palermo, the capital city of Sicily, showered the American soldiers with flowers, whatever prestige Mussolini still kept was lost forever. When he proved unable to get from Hitler the help needed to withstand the American and British onslaught on the mainland, nobody, not even his most intimate confederate, not even his son-in-law obeyed him any longer. He had become a dead weight. The King had to throw him overboard if he did not want to be engulfed by a common disaster.

The *London Economist*, September 11, has clearly understood the sequence of events:

"There can be no doubt that, for several months before the July crisis, political unrest was growing in Italy; a strike movement was spreading over the industrial north; defeatism was taking hold of the minds of the people; the regime was visibly losing control. This restiveness among the masses would by itself hardly have brought about the collapse of Fascism so quickly. But it was the spectre of popular revolt that inspired the Court and the military hierarchy with fear. Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio resolved to act. Mussolini was dismissed."

Badoglio announced that the treaty of alliance with Germany was still valid and war would go on. The Italians refused to cooperate in that war. Demonstrations for peace and liberty filled all the streets and squares of Italy.

To quell those movements, Badoglio proclaimed martial law. The soldiers refused to fire on the populace. Nay, the Italian army disintegrated in July and August in the same way as, for different reasons, but with analogous military results, the Russian army had disintegrated in 1917, the Austro-Hungarian army at the end of 1918, and the French army in 1940.

"Thousands of Italian soldiers from disbanded units are heading toward the sanctuary of Southern Italy. The Italians are streaming along the roadside in groups ranging up to 100. Many are barefoot. They have handkerchiefs or rags tied around their heads. They have discarded parts of their uniforms, so as not to look like soldiers. Each man carries a bag or bundle of personal belongings. They deploy in the fields to pick tomatoes or fruit. At night they sleep in the open fields, and are on the road again at dawn. All day long they stream by in thousands."

A dispatch to the *London Times* (October 15) gives the following account:

"On the roads south of Naples the scene is reminiscent of France in May and June, 1940. . . . Everywhere one sees straggling remnants of the Italian army. . . . Many of these soldiers still wearing the uniforms queue up expectantly each morning in the hope of being given casual labor by the Allied forces. They gratefully accept any occupation."

Between Southern Italy and Northern Italy there is no difference. When a mass meeting of Italian officers at Rome was called, only four hundred men showed up. Nazi military authorities, to get manpower, have to offer to pay forty-two times what Italian soldiers formerly received. (*New York Herald Tribune*, October 17).

No correct interpretation of the events which took place in Italy during these last few months is possible if one does not take into account this total disintegration of the Italian army.

By the beginning of August the King and Badoglio realized that they had no longer any army at their beck and call. They could no longer wage any war either with or against Nazi Germany. The only thing they could do was to surrender.

Surrender to whom?

They had unseated and arrested Mussolini. They were therefore bound to foresee that if they surrendered to Hitler they would in their turn become Mussolini's prisoners. The only thing they could do was to surrender to the Americans and British. They did so. Surrender was the only step they could take for their personal security. It was not a gift they could have made or withheld.

2

After they had surrendered they might have become prisoners of war. A soldier or an army chief who being no longer in a position to fight, surrenders and becomes a prisoner of war, does not commit a dishonorable act. After the battle of Sedan, in September 1870, Emperor Napoleon III surrendered and became a prisoner of war. The King of Belgium to-day is a prisoner of war. In the course of the present war other French, British, American, Russian, German soldiers, officers and army chiefs surrendered in France, Russia, Asia, Africa and Sicily and were made prisoners of war. If the King and Badoglio, after surrendering, had become prisoners of war, they would have deserved pity and not contempt.

What Price Badoglio and the King?

X-96 572

Erle L. Savich

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Fascism Without Mussolini

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

IT WAS a great relief to learn that Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, does not expect open revolt in Italy against the Nazi overlords. Any sensible person must realize that until the British and American armed forces smash the Nazi-Fascist military machine, a revolution cannot be anticipated in any of the Nazi-controlled countries. Unorganized and unarmed people cannot start revolutions against governments provided with machine-guns, artillery, airplanes, radio, telephones, and all the means of transportation. Nobody insists that the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, the Norwegians, or the Danes should revolt against their Nazi masters. Only the Italians are called upon to stage a revolution—as if they were better provided with the essential means of warfare than other countries. This doubtful privilege has been bestowed upon them solely because British and American armed forces may attempt a landing in Italy, and an Italian revolution at the right moment would be a godsend.

But in rejecting the prospect of an Italian revolution before a military breakdown occurs, Mr. Davis should not also discard the expectation of revolutionary upheaval after the Fascists' military power has begun to crumble.

In Italy today people can be divided roughly into three groups: (1) a small but organized and armed pro-Nazi minority, buttressed by Nazi troops and the Nazi Gestapo; (2) an anti-Fascist minority, larger than the first but unorganized and unarmed, ready to come forward at the first opportunity; and (3) the "masses," suffering from malnutrition, dejected, desperate, in a state described by John O. Crane in the *New York Times* as "political coma." Men and women who go to bed starving and wake up not knowing where to find food for their children do not start revolutions. Revolutions are not launched by masses anyway, but by aggressive minorities. The masses follow.

While there is no doubt that Italy swarms with underground revolutionary cells of every political color, nobody can guarantee that a revolution will really be attempted when the Fascist military structure collapses as a consequence of military defeat. Much that has happened in the world since June, 1940, could never have been predicted. Revolutions no less than battles often depend on fortuitous circumstances: news late in arriving; a man standing at a door, breaking in as the door happens to open; a corporal's toothache. If there had

been a man like Lenin in Berlin at the time of the German collapse in November, 1918, or in Rome after Matteotti's murder in June, 1924, history would have taken a different turn, though nobody can say in what direction. However, one can still express wishes and hopes which are reasonable under existing conditions, and state what should be done to govern events as far as is humanly possible.

As reported by the New York press, Mr. Davis said: "There is no sign of an active group [in Italy] which could organize real resistance, and we are not encouraging it." He would have come closer to the facts had he stated that the State Department and the Office of War Information not only are giving no encouragement to any groups which might organize resistance, but are actually doing everything in their power to discourage such action. Since they cannot rely upon a revolution in Italy before British and American armed intervention has smashed the Fascist military machine, and since a later revolution would serve no military purpose, they are not interested in anti-Fascist revolution. Further, they do not intend to have any such nuisance. According to the American Plan for a Reorganized World described in the *American Mercury* for November, 1942, one of the American aims is to "prevent revolution from developing in the defeated countries." It appears that Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, which pledged Britain and America to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live," is to be interpreted as meaning that they will be allowed to choose only forms of government like those of Franco in Spain or of Pétain in France, or such as "Otto of Austria" would set up somewhere in Central Europe.

As for Italy, the theory that "one man and one man alone" is responsible for the present war between Italy and the United Nations enables us to understand why the King of Italy, quintessence of "legitimacy," is consistently ignored in the short-wave broadcasts to Italy from America. "This government," Mr. Davis said, "is not broadcasting personal attacks upon King Victor Emmanuel." He might have added that anyone addressing the Italians on an American broadcasting station must pledge himself not to remind them that the King is as responsible as Mussolini for the tragedy of present-day Italy. And an army of newspapermen is instructed by the State Department to teach us, day in and day out, that if not the King then at least his son is to be re-

Now It Can Be Told

WE CANNOT ESCAPE HISTORY. By John T. Whitaker.
The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

HAD this book been issued at the beginning of 1942, before the American market was flooded by the volumes of newspapermen returning from the Axis countries, it would have been a best-seller. It is written with youthful liveliness and gusto, and many "good stories" may be gleaned from it which seem plausible even when they could not, obviously, be substantiated by unimpeachable evidence. The chapters on Germany, Spain, and Russia are excellent. The chapters on France and Britain tell us nothing which has not already gone the rounds. As for the chapter on Italy, it belongs to what may be termed "now-it-can-be-told" literature.

While living in Italy on very friendly terms with Mussolini and his son-in-law and Foreign Minister, Ciano, Mr. Whitaker published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of December 23, 1939, an article under the appealing title *Italy's Seven Secrets*. He revealed that Ciano jealously kept hidden in a safe three small books, "one bound in red and two in blue." They were written in Ciano's "small smooth Italian hand," but they showed also "notations in another hand," "the extravagant jottings of Il Duce." They contained "Italy's seven secrets." Mr. Whitaker was in a position to reveal those secrets.

Anyone who knew anything about Mussolini's foreign policies during the preceding seventeen years knew most of those seven secrets before Mr. Whitaker buried his nose in Ciano's books of revelations. In the end, Mr. Whitaker could claim a monopoly on no more than two disclosures: (1) Mussolini had signed the treaty of alliance of May, 1939, with Hitler with the aim of preventing him from going to war; and (2) Hitler, by attacking Poland, had broken the Axis. The truth of the matter was that on December 16, 1939, one week before Mr. Whitaker disclosed Italy's secrets, Ciano officially stated that when signing the treaty of May, 1939, he had explicitly informed Hitler that Italy could not go to war during the next three years. The fact that the treaty had been signed with such a qualification meant that Italy's non-belligerency was in keeping with the alliance, that Hitler was at the moment content with Italy's neutrality, and that the Axis had never been broken. Had Mussolini wanted to prevent Hitler from going to war, he would not have signed the unconditional treaty of May, 1939, but would have kept Hitler guessing whether Italy would remain neutral or join the Atlantic powers.

The climax of Mr. Whitaker's revelations in December, 1939, was reached in the story of Hitler's and Ciano's meeting before the invasion of Poland. Ciano had told Hitler that the British and the French would fight. "The German turned on him, screaming and sputtering in his paroxysm: 'You ass! You son of an ass!'" "The conversation was terminated and

with it the Axis." Inference: the French and the British should not disturb Mussolini and Ciano during the next months. Nay, they should furnish them with the raw materials necessary to build up their artillery and their tanks; when Italy's war preparations had been completed, Mussolini would fly to the aid of the "victors"—please notice "victors" in the plural, that is, not Hitler, in the singular, but the British and the French.

This was precisely what Mussolini and Ciano wanted of the appeasers of London, Paris, and Washington. They needed "all their diplomatic astuteness" to get raw materials and to prepare to attack the appeasers.

In December, 1939, Mr. Whitaker wrote: "The Italians are beginning to love him [Mussolini] as a benign figure. The people speak of him with affection and pride." When people had something to grumble about, they vented their ill-humor on the minor party leaders. But Mussolini remained, with "his matured political genius," the "wise and paternal leader." In 1943 Mr. Whitaker has revealed two more secrets. The first is that "power corrupts. Mussolini was no exception to the rule." Now it can be told. The other secret is that three months before the invasion of Poland Mussolini suffered a stroke. He then devoted himself to eroticism. He was no longer a "mature political genius," "the daring pupil of Machiavelli, Bismarck, and Cavour." He had become a tool in the hands of the German ambassador in Rome, who furnished young girls for his whims. He was now "as horrible a megalomaniac as Nero and Caligula." The man who in December, 1939, was described as "a typical affectionate Italian father romping on the floor with his youngest children" has become in 1943 an obscene, senescent satyr. That is why he attacked France and England in June, 1940. Had it not been for the stroke, he would have stabbed in the back Hitler and not France, and as a consequence he would still be a "matured political genius" and a "wise paternal leader" for Mr. Whitaker no less than for Mr. Churchill, the career boys of the American State Department, and many other respectable torch bearers of the four freedoms. I suspect that not only Mussolini but also Ciano suffered a moral stroke, not three months before the invasion of Poland, but on the very day that they were born.

While throwing mud at Mussolini, Mr. Whitaker remains loyal to Ciano. He reveals another secret. Ciano always has disliked the Germans. The Germans "ultimately will murder him." Clear is the inference to be drawn from such a harrowing prospect. The British Foreign Office and the American State Department must do away with Mussolini, but they can always do business with Ciano.

If this is "history," I intend to "escape" it with the maximum possible speed, and rather than teach it, I would hang myself.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

THE POPE SPEAKS

By GAETANO SALVEMINI

NEWSPAPERMEN and radio commentators fancied that in his address of June 13th to the twenty-five thousand workers gathered in Rome, the Pope had intended to answer that German propaganda agent, Dr. Friedrich, who last May on the Paris radio had charged the Catholic Church with "crushing responsibility in unleashing the present war".

This guess will appear groundless as soon as one notices that the Vatican radio had immediately contradicted that German statement and the German propaganda agent himself had disclaimed any share in it. There was, therefore, no need for the Pope personally to descend into the political arena and answer a private individual who had recanted at that. And why should the Pope have answered through an address delivered to Italian workers a German radio commentator who had spoken in Paris? Pius XII would not have disturbed twenty-five thousand Italian workers to protest against a stupid calumny. It is obvious that the Pope was countering something which actually existed in the minds of the Italians and not in that of the German commentator.

Vast sections of the Italian people charge the Vatican and the Italian higher clergy not with unleashing the present war but with having made common cause with the Fascist dictatorship for twenty years, and thus assuming a share in the responsibility for Fascist policies and their consequences, including the present war with its untold suffering and disasters for Italy.

Hundreds of Italian archbishops and bishops blessed the Italian soldiers who were leaving for the Ethiopian War in 1935-36, and Pope Pius XI in person rejoiced in May, 1936, over the Italian victory—a victory due in large part to bombing planes and asphyxiating and corrosive gases. Pius XI approved of the revolt of the Spanish rebel generals during the civil war of 1936-39, in which Mussolini had such a large share. When in 1940, Mussolini declared war upon France and Britain and victory seemed to be with-

in the reach of his hand, the Bishop of Leghorn issued a circular to his diocese saying: "We must pray that God be favorable to our country, and that he make short and glorious our days of trial." (June 19, 1940). The Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Schuster, during a visit to military barracks, said that "he was glad to be among them" and reminded the Secretary of the Fascio that (during the Ethiopian War) when that official left for the front, he had given him a medal that "brought luck to the Italian armies", and he prayed that "God be with our dear soldiers" (*New York Times*, July 31, 1940). The Archbishop of Gorizia exhorted the Italians to "obey and put their trust in Mussolini in this war for the greatness of Italy" and begged God "to bless and protect the King Emperor and the never vanquished Duce". Thirty bishops signed a message urging Mussolini "to crown the unflinching victory of our army by planting the Italian banner over the Holy Sepulchre" (*New York Herald Tribune*, June 28); the Jews should have been deported to Ethiopia and put "under the high jurisdiction of the Vatican State" (*sic*; *Manchester Guardian*, June 27, 1940). Jumping to more recent acts of episcopal Fascist zeal, on March 12, 1943, the Italian official Stefani Agency gave the news that five Italian prelates, headed by Army Bishop Mgr. Bartolomasi, had been received by Mussolini and rewarded by him for improving the cultivation of the silk worm. Bishop Bartolomasi, speaking in the name of two hundred and thirty Italian bishops and parish priests who had participated in the same work, said: "Duce, the members of the clergy affirm their faith in victory against the enemies of religion and protest against the damages caused to the silk worms by the brutal attacks of the enemy air force." On May 10, 1943, Cardinal Piazza, Patriarch of Venice, told the Italian soldiers: "All Italy is proud of you. . . . It is your mission to spread throughout the world the Roman Christian civilization which produced centuries of greatness. . . . Italy can never be de-

feated and reduced to slavery as the Anglo-Saxon capitalists and the Bolshevik executioners would like it".

No wonder therefore that the idea is held in Italy that the Vatican and the higher clergy, no less than Mussolini, are responsible for Italy's present plight. As a consequence, a wave of violent anti-clericalism is shaking Italy today. Cardinal Schuster wrote in the Milan daily *Italia* of March 30, 1943:

Reports which reach us from various parts are causing us sorrow and filling us with great anxiety for the future. Once again people are speaking of profanation of the Eucharist, organizations for promoting blasphemy, atheistic movements. . . .

Cardinal Schuster branded this movement as utterly irreligious. And to be sure there are irreligious streams of thought in Italy today as there always have been in Latin countries. But probably we have to deal above all with a political anticlerical revolt in which vast masses of otherwise religious people have a share. The trick of condemning as atheistic any kind of hostility to the misdeeds of the clergy is as old as Methuselah.

The Vatican and the higher clergy are reaping now the harvest of the seeds they have been sowing in Italy for the past twenty years. They tied themselves so strongly to the Fascist dictatorship that now when the latter is sinking they find it difficult to swim. Pius XII knows where anti-religious feeling springs from. He did not directly meet the charge which actually is levelled against the Vatican and the higher clergy, that is their connivance in Mussolini's policies and their responsibility in the ruinous consequences of those policies. He hedged, and rebutted only the calumny that he had willed *this* war. Lawyers know that evading the real issue and meeting a wrong argument seemingly close to it is the way to hoodwink a jury when the real issue is unsafe.

The most significant section of Pius XII's address was devoted to pledging the Italian worker to shun revolution. The Pope who has, in his parish priests

File: Church

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THE PROTESTANT

JULY

#103

1943

Under and After Mussolini

ITALY FROM WITHIN. By Richard G. Massock. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THE author of this book was correspondent of the Associated Press in Rome from the fall of 1938 to the end of 1941. His task was "finding out as best as he could what was going on." But the Stefani Agency (the Italian counterpart of Havas and Reuter) gave out only government "pap." The dailies were mere instruments in an orchestra conducted by the Ministry of Propaganda. The radio, the newsreels, the books and magazines, the news photos—everything was censored. The hotel where Mr. Massock first established his residence was staffed entirely by informers. When he went to live in an apartment, the doorman was a spy and reported everyone who went to call on him. The police kept a dossier on each correspondent and his family. The telephone was tapped. Under such conditions, how could a newspaperman find out what was going on? Even if he did, he was not allowed to send out his findings. His telephone calls were intercepted and transcribed. The radio company automatically sent every dispatch to the ministry before transmitting it. Words were scrutinized, one by one, and their author held accountable for them. If he displeased the masters, he was expelled.

Mr. Massock, while imparting to us such pleasant information, protests that he never deserved expulsion. His record was "clean." He was just a newspaperman "without seditious thoughts or political animosity." He "avoided known anti-Fascists." He "never met any member of the underground, never tried to obtain news in a clandestine manner." He "evaded political discussion in his social contacts." He was only interested in obtaining news that he could transmit "through the nominal channels of information."

"We were sick," he writes, "that we had to withhold so much of the truth. Yet we knew the editors and readers wanted a man on the spot." Wait a moment! No doubt the editors wanted to make money by feeding their public with "good news," whether true or not, and only men on the spot could produce such news. But the public was living under the delusion that a man on the spot would give them the truth. Yet for twenty years, though sick of their dirty job, the men on the spot deceived their public. What was forcing them to do so? Why were they so fond of keeping their records clean? Why didn't they leave Rome as soon as they realized that a newspaperman could not honestly carry on his professional work there? Why didn't their agencies and publishers inform their readers that correct information could not be got from totalitarian countries and that therefore they refused to keep correspondents in those countries?

Here is a problem which should be squarely faced by the "gentlemen of the press" who have consecrated a shrine to the freedom of the press, hail the press as the unstained

source of truth, and each year hold conventions where they solemnly vindicate the freedom of the press. Freedom of the press or freedom for the "gentlemen of the press" to fool the people for twenty years?

The chapters Mr. Massock dedicates to the period of non-belligerency from September, 1939, to June, 1940, to the disastrous invasion of Greece, and to the economic and moral conditions of the country are among the best things on Italy that the present reviewer has read of late. Mr. Massock states that "the Italian people hold Mussolini personally responsible for Italy's tragedy. They hate him." "The supporters of Fascism form a small minority of the population." "The majority of Italians would like a restoration of parliamentary self-government, as in the democracies, as the only system capable of giving them decent leadership and economic well-being." But "an Italian revolution now, with all Europe under Nazi domination, direct or indirect, would fail, so strong are the odds against it. And such premature revolt might be catastrophic." However, "with the tide of anti-Fascism rising as it has risen, it is not inconceivable that the public, given the circumstances, could override the militia." "The primary question is how long will the Italians have to wait for the defeat of the German army by those of the United Nations." One hundred per cent right. Could anything else be said for the other occupied countries and, let us hope, for Germany itself?

Mr. Massock notices that "the anti-Fascist movement in Italy lacks leadership, organs of opinion, the means to get together in large numbers. There is no center of agitation, no parliament, no free institutions." Could it be otherwise? If Italy did not lack those paraphernalia, it would be a democratic and not a totalitarian country. It must reconquer them through "blood, sweat, and tears."

During more than three years among Italians in Italy, Mr. Massock never heard mentioned the name of a single émigré who would be a "likely deliverer of the people from Fascism." Quite natural. The name even of Toscanini has been suppressed in the Italian press. Thus a youth who is twenty-two now and was ten in 1930 does not know that a Toscanini ever existed in this world. One can guess what has happened in the case of all the other émigrés who are not surrounded by such a halo of glory as Toscanini. Therefore Mr. Massock is completely correct when he holds that "the liberation and future system of government of the Italian people is primarily the business of the Italians in Italy"; "the Italians seemed to be searching for new leaders among those who had stayed in Italy." Future leaders will arise from among those who are on the spot. Mr. Massock, however, would be at least half wrong if from this fact he drew the inference that there will be nothing for the émigrés to do when they return to Italy. Men and women who were in their twenties when political emigration began to curse Italy, are now in their fifties, that is, still young in spirit. They have not forgotten and will welcome those of their old friends who come back home.

"The pre-Fascist parties have been buried so profoundly that not even their ghosts were abroad in the land." Here again Mr. Massock is entirely right. Names of political parties will most likely still be the old ones. But the mentality of the generation in their thirties and forties is no longer

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THE TORIES ARE LOOKING TO

I-Pietro Badoglio

People have decided to forget that together with the Chief of Staff, Cadorna, and the Chief of the Third Army, Capello, Badoglio was responsible for the Italian disaster of Caporetto in October 1917. G. A. Borgese, in his *Goliath* (New York, Viking Press, 1940, p. 114) tells us that Badoglio had "schemed the daring Napoleonic plan of luring the Austrians into a trap, there to smash them. He opened to them the door of Italy, but as soon as the Austrians had entered the trap, they found that for one reason or another, the opposite wall was not so strong as the Napoleon has supposed; they broke it and poured like a deluge into more than half the region of Venice." Of the three responsible for the disaster, the two who were more prominent, Cadorna and Capello, lost their positions. Badoglio played possum, escaped attention, and became deputy chief of the new Chief of the General Staff, who had succeeded Cadorna.

In this job he showed a technical ability rather rare among Italian army generals. And when the intervention of American armies put an end to the war and to four years of untold suffering for soldiers and civilian populations in Europe, Badoglio took a good share of the credit for victory.

He was chief of the General Staff during that fatal Fall of 1920 when military authorities in Italy began to equip the Fascists with arms, ammunition, trucks, and officers on leave. He allowed his subordinates to play politics. But when things grew hot, he withdrew from the General Staff, leaving to others the responsibility for carrying on military sedition.

In September 1922, while that combination of a military coup d'etat and opera bouffe which was to lead to the so-called "March on Rome" was being engineered, and the King seemed hostile to the Fascist movement, Badoglio made no mystery of the fact that if the King gave him orders to stamp out the Fascist movement, he would carry them out, and the job would not even have been a difficult one. Therefore he was regarded as an anti-Fascist. He was only a mercenary, indifferent to politics, who had given his allegiance to the King of Italy and was ready to comply with any command coming from his lord and master.

After the "March on Rome", as long as the attitude of the King still was not clear, Badoglio bided his time. After the Matteotti murder, the King went over, bag and baggage, into Mussolini's camp. Badoglio followed in the train of his lord.

As a consequence, Mussolini took him into his fold, and in 1927 he bestowed upon him the title and — what was more important to Badoglio — the salary of Marshall.

In 1929 he was sent as Governor to Lybia, and under his leadership General Graziani subdued the eastern section of Lybia (Cyrenaica). Arab chiefs were taken up in planes and flung out into the air, to fall broken on the rocks below. For this reason Graziani was known as "the breaker of the natives". Badoglio never objected to such sadistic methods of warfare. In 1932 he reported that Lybia had been "pacified".

WHAT TO DO WITH ITALY

AN HOUR IN ITALY

Under the auspices of the American Labor Conference on International Affairs, Prof. Gaetano Salvemini has delivered the following speech on June 12, 1942.

When American and British forces occupy the first Italian town in Sicily or Sardinia, a Commissioner of the Allied Nations for civilian affairs in the town will be chosen, no doubt, from among the officials of the forces of occupation.

The First Cleaning

This Commissioner would first of all disarm and disband the Fascist Militia, close down its headquarters, send its officers to a concentration camp, and put under surveillance its non-commissioned officers and men. This should be done for military, if for no other reasons.

The mayor of the town, also, should be sent to join the officers of the militia. The mayors in Italy today are not elected by the citizens, but appointed by Mussolini from among the most loyal members of the Fascist Party.

Then the Commissioner should realize that the population of the town is organized into associations of employers or professional men and unions of clerks or workers, and that these organizations are managed by secretaries, who have been appointed by the higher-ups of the Fascist Party, are accountable not to the membership but to the directors of the Party, and wield despotic powers over the membership. Leaving these people at their posts would mean leaving intact the foundations of the Fascist dictatorship. They, no less than the officers of the Fascist Militia and the mayor, should go to a concentration camp.

A Difficult Job

However, it would be a mistake to disband the trade organizations, thus reducing the population to the state of incoherent dust. The members of each organization should be summoned to choose a new secretary who enjoys their confidence. They know each other. They know who, during the past twenty years, did not become an auxiliary of the Fascist evil-doers.

This change of personnel will not be easily brought about. The people, after having been bombed from the air, will probably be stunned. Moreover, they will be suspicious, and uncertain whether to cooperate or not. Cruel retribution would fall upon them were the town recaptured by Fascist forces.

The Commissioner of the Allied Nations should be a man of wisdom and patience. If our War Office has had enough vision, it has already chosen from among citizens or residents of Italian origin in this country, suitable, advisers for the Commissioner of each town. It would not have been difficult to select, from among four and a half million men of Italian extraction here in America, two or three reliable men for each group of towns who could act as liaison officers between the Commissioner and the local population.

Municipal and Provincial Government

When the members of the trade organizations have elected their secretaries and the latter have been sanctioned by the Commissioner, the secretaries should act as the provisional council of the town, and be allowed to choose their provisional mayor, the Allied Commissioner retaining the power to veto any decisions taken by local authorities.

The Italians are not savages. They had elective local government until 1922, and their worst city administrations were no worse than many of those in the United States, and not a few Italian city governments were better than our best. Men who were twenty-five or thirty years of age twenty years ago are now forty-five or fifty, that is, at the height of their physical and intellectual strength. They will soon mend the broken thread of political experience.

When the capital city of a province is occupied, the prefect of the province should be instantly disposed of. The prefects of provinces are not elective governors. They are appointed by Mussolini from among the most criminal agents of the dictatorship. They are the moving wheels in the Fascist machine.

The provisional mayors and councillors in all the towns of the province should be summoned to choose the provisional governor and councillors for the province, who also, of course, should work under the supervision of a Commissioner of the United Nations for the province.

A Provisional

Central Government

While the reorganization of local government takes place, the chief editors of Fascist papers should be sent to join the officers of the Fascist Militia and the former leaders of local administration. The papers, at first, could only be staffed by men chosen by the Allied Commissioners. But the population should be allowed, nay encouraged, to reorganize themselves in political parties, and as soon as possible, they should start their own free papers, and these should supersede the official press.

When Sicily and Sardinia have been occupied, the moment will come to summon the provisional governors of the provinces and ask them to choose a provisional government for the whole of Italy. This provisional central government would be joined by other members from other provinces as far as the Allied military occupation spread. It would establish itself in Rome when this city also is occupied.

Then, after, let us say, six months of provisional regime, the electorate would be summoned to choose by universal suffrage their municipal and provisional permanent administrations; and, finally, at the end, let us say, of the year, a National Constituent Assembly would be elected by the whole country with the task of establishing the new political constitution.

Will They Have a Chance?

If Mussolini, the King, and the other Fascist leaders are killed in popular uprising before the British or Americans come in, this would make easier the task of the armies of occupation. If they follow the German forces, or fly to their friend Franco, in Spain, good-bye. If they are made prisoners, they should be handed over to Greece and Yugoslavia to be tried there on account of the harm their policies have brought to those unfortunate peoples.

Will the Italians adopt a republican or retain the monarchical form of government?

I would bet that if they are left free to do what they like, the overwhelming majority of them will choose a democratic republic. But will they be left free to choose?

In his press conference in Washington, a few days ago, Prime Minister Churchill intimated that Italy should dismiss "the leaders" who got her into this awful plight, and throw herself on the justice of the Allies. Since he did not say any longer "one man and one man alone" but rather made use of the plural "leaders" we can assume that at last he has realized that other "leaders" were the auxiliaries of that man, and have to go with him.

But who are they?

Fascist "Leaders"

We cannot open a paper without being flooded with the names of Italian "leaders" whom Britain and America are prepared to accept as Mussolini's successors. All these gentlemen have been associated with Mussolini and auxiliaries in all his crimes.

The only person who is being sold to us as one of Mussolini's suitable successors, and whom no fair-minded man can brand as guilty, is the son of the present King of Italy, a six year old boy.

It appears that the British Foreign Office and the American State Department can not dispense with a King in Italy, and therefore if no other King is available, Italy must be ruled by a six year child. When he comes of age he will show to what extent he has inherited the overflowing intelligence of his father, the present Crown Prince, and the heroic will power and moral integrity of his grandfather, the present King.

During the last days the shares of the King grandfather have gone up on our market. In fact, we have been told from Switzerland that "after twenty years of complacent acceptance, the King has risen to disassociate himself from the functions and fortunes of Mussolini." Nay, we are asked to believe that in Italy today everyone is shouting "Long live the King" (*New York Times*, June 9, 1943). When the ship begins to sink, the rats leave it, but some leave it sooner and some later. The Italian royal rat is being told that he will find a safe place in the Anglo-Saxon ladder any time he runs away, even if he is the very last one to run.

Italian Rumoresque

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

THERE must be a great many desertions from Fascism in Italy today. Mussolini and those among his henchmen who cannot turn their coats—and who are therefore in danger of losing their skins—doubtless feel that the very foundations of the Fascist dictatorship are disintegrating. This explains the recent shake-up in the Fascist Party. Mussolini has had to "mobilize" the most criminal elements among his followers. The new national secretary of the party, Scorza, is a typical representative of that criminal fringe: In 1925 he led the treacherous attack upon Amendola* which resulted in Amendola's death some months later. In 1928 he published an article in which he likened the Fascist Party to the Catholic church, explaining that he did not mean the Catholic church of weaklings like St. Francis of Assisi but the Catholic church of heroic popes, like Alexander Borgia, who were prepared even to poison their foes. Signor Scorza has done what all his kind have done—utilized political power for personal gain. He and Mussolini will stick together until every spark of hope vanishes, and then, if they are not killed, they will try to escape to Spain.

That such one can say without possessing any inside information. But our newspapermen and radio commentators seem to know much more. When Grandi left the Ministry of Justice on February 5, some of our most solemn papers gave out the good tidings that he had been dismissed from his post because he had become disloyal to Mussolini and had tried to set up an anti-Fascist nucleus within the Italian police. The story was probably concocted in Washington by someone who thought that in Italy, as in the United States, the federal police is responsible to the Department of Justice. Had he been better informed about Italian institutions he would have known that in Italy the police is under the Department of the Interior, which has always been run by Mussolini. A Minister of Justice in Italy could not hatch any conspiracy within the Italian police system. Grandi, despite his alleged attempts at treachery, remained chairman of the Fascist Lower House. In addition, a few days after the rumors were published, Grandi received the Knighthood of the Annunziata, the highest decoration in Italy. The King could not have bestowed that honor upon him without Mussolini's consent.

Another "good story" released some time ago by a radio commentator was to the effect that Mussolini is no longer on speaking terms with his son-in-law, Count Ciano, ambassador to the Vatican. What television apparatus permitted this commentator to reveal that when Mussolini and his son-in-law meet, one gazes at the ceiling while the other blows his nose and looks at the floor? The fact is that Ciano left the Foreign Office last February to become ambassador to the Holy See just on the eve of Archbishop Spellman's mission to Rome. At that time Mussolini needed a man at the Vatican who, no less than himself, was interested in saving his own skin, and who would never betray him, as might a professional diplomat, when the breakdown of the Fascist regime occurred. Ciano was the man. Ciano is there to look out as best he can for the interests of the Mussolini-Ciano combine in negotiating a way out of the present impasse.

However, the stories which are being circulated should not be ignored. If they do not tell us what is really happening in Italy, they tell us what those who concoct them in America and who circulate them through newspapermen and radio commentators want us to believe.

The British Foreign Office and the American State Department expect Grandi to leave the sinking Fascist ship together with other rats. By betraying Mussolini he would only enhance his prestige among our would-be Machiavellis. This is the reason that Grandi is being told day in and day out, in our press and on our radio, that he would be quite an acceptable "leader" of tomorrow's Italy. As for Ciano, he is the only man through whom Mussolini could be approached personally in negotiations of a secret and delicate kind. The results of such negotiations would be more readily swallowed in this country if Ciano were described in advance as a traitor to his father-in-law. A widespread story that Ciano is even now visiting the United States shows how far the hopes and suspicions have gone.

Among all these rumors the most insistent is the report that the King of Italy will soon abdicate. For the last twenty years the coming abdication of the King of Italy has been announced at least twice a year. To be sure, he may abdicate one fine day and run away to Spain, with or without Mussolini. If that should happen, those who have predicted his abdication for the last twenty years will undoubtedly consider themselves infallible prophets. But that, I am afraid, is questionable logic. At any rate Victor Emanuel is still King of Italy.

Yet the story of his abdication does not deserve to be dismissed altogether. The French journalist Pertinax, a man of uncommon intelligence and as a rule well informed, has given support to the rumor in the New York

* Amendola was a noted liberal and leader of the opposition in the Italian Parliament after the March on Rome.

Freezing Fascism In 3 35

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON JUNE 29 the New York *Herald Tribune* warned us in a leading article that "it would be painfully easy for an occupying force, in the interest of 'order,' to freeze Italy's Fascist organization in authority. It is less likely that the Allies would permit the opposite to occur—namely, the riotous competition of anti-Fascist groups for power—during the critical period of occupation."

A plan aiming to "freeze Italy's Fascist organization in authority had been published by the New York *Times* of May 19 as "elaborated in a special message from Pius XII to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York." The *Times* has always faithfully reflected Vatican policies, and therefore the authenticity of its information cannot be doubted.

According to the Vatican plan, the Fascist Party would be "immediately disbanded," but the "present prefects" would not be considered to have been "active party supporters." They would be left in their posts as heads of civil administration under the orders of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome.

Even before Mussolini came to power in Italy, provincial prefects were not elected by the people, as American governors are. They were appointed by the Home Secretary. Mussolini chose his ninety-four prefects from among the most "active" members of his party. They are the cornerstones of the Fascist system. To "disband" the Fascist Party and leave the "present" prefects as heads of civil administration would be to leave the apparatus of the Fascist regime intact.

With these facts in mind, we can guess what, according to the Vatican plan, the occupying authorities would be expected to do when they occupied a town, say, in Sicily. They would dismiss the secretary and the directors of the local Fascist branch—if they had not already run away—and close the party headquarters. Should the Fascist militia also be disbanded? Since the prefect of the province would not be regarded as an "active" supporter of the Fascist Party, the officers of the militia, who are neither better nor worse than the prefects, might logically enjoy the same privilege. However, this would be so ridiculous that we can dismiss it altogether.

There is a mayor, or *podestà*, in the town. Under the Fascist regime mayors were not elected but were chosen by Mussolini on nominations made by the prefects in agreement with the local Fascist chiefs. According to the Vatican plan, the "present" mayor, like the "present"

prefect of the province, would presumably be considered not to have been an "active party supporter."

The population of an Italian town is organized into associations of employers and professional men, and unions of clerks and laborers. These organizations are run by secretaries who have been appointed by the directors of the Fascist Party in agreement with the prefect, and who, accountable not to the membership but to the directors of the party, wield a despotic power over the membership. These men also would be considered not to have been active party supporters, and little time or effort would be needed to persuade them to carry on.

When the capital city of the province has been occupied, the local and provincial headquarters of the Fascist Party and the Fascist militia will be closed. But together with the "present" prefect, the mayor of the city and the secretaries of the local associations and unions will be left undisturbed. In the capital city there are also the "present" chief of police (*questore*), the chief justice (*primo presidente della Corte d'Appello*), and the attorney general (*procuratore generale*). They are as important as the prefect. The chief justice and the attorney general are even more hateful than the prefect and the chief of police, since they have prostituted justice for the benefit of the Fascist gangsters. But according to the Vatican plan they would doubtless also be regarded as "inactive" supporters of the Fascist Party.

If the chiefs of the occupying armies were not instructed to "freeze" Fascist authorities in power, what would they do? Let us take the instance of Palermo, a city of more than 400,000 inhabitants:

The correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, who was on the spot, told us on July 28 that two days before the Allies occupied the city, the military and civil authorities abandoned it, without a word of warning to the population. The prefect, the mayor, and the secretary of the Fascist Party in the province made off by airplane. They took away all the money they could lay their hands on, including the salaries of workmen and clerks. Thus there were in Palermo none of those "leaders" with whom the wise men of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department were ready to negotiate. Yet Palermo did not fall into that condition of "chaos and anarchy" of which Mr. Churchill warned the Commons on July 27.

People who for twenty years have swallowed Fascist misinformation wondered how a whole population could



The Bombing of Rome

What American columnists and radio commentators write or say about European affairs is often concocted in advance by them with officials of the State Department. Then what they write or say is broadcast to Europe as their personal opinion or unofficial information, so as to influence people in Europe without entangling the responsibility of the American Administration.

The columnist, Mr. Drew Pearson lent his pen to one of such tricks when he made out that the Italian people would not be shocked by the destruction of Rome since Professor Salvemini maintained that most Italians were indifferent to the interests of the Pope.

The following letter should have led Mr. Pearson to reverse his statement. But he ignores the correction and leaves his disgusting innuendo unaltered. Thus there will be Italians who will believe that Salvemini has approved of the destruction of Rome.

What a dirty business politics, and especially international politics is, especially in time of war!

Mr. Drew Pearson
United Features - United Press
Daily News Building
New York City.

St. Paul, Minnesota
February 22, 1944

Sir:

To my great amazement, I read in the press of February 21st that, according to you, U. S. War Chiefs do not worry about what the Italians would think if Rome were destroyed; that those Chiefs are concerned only with what the Catholic world out of Italy would think; that the reason for the difference lays in the fact that the Italians are not strong Vatican Catholics and feel no great interest in the Vatican; and that I am regarded as the authority for stating this fact.

To be sure I am responsible for the contention that no more than one-fifth of the Italian population, mostly peasantry, are consistent Catholics. But nothing is more absurd than to draw from this contention the inference that the Italians would not mind if Rome became a battlefield and were destroyed.

Rome belongs to the Roman citizens and not to the Pope. The Pope owns in Rome no more than the one hundred acres on which the so-called Vatican City stands and some buildings scattered here and there. Any civilized man and woman recoils at the idea that either the Pope or the most humble child in Rome, or elsewhere, might be bombed. When, in addition, buildings of immense historical and artistic value are endangered, our

hearts bleed at the prospect that such irreplaceable treasures might be destroyed.

No difference can be made between ecclesiastical and secular buildings, between Popes and no Popes. There are people who whine only when properties of the Pope and ecclesiastical buildings are endangered, but do not care about the rest. I cannot make any such difference. And I am sure that no Italian and no decent American citizen makes any such difference.

Let me add that, in my opinion, the present battle for Rome from a military point of view makes no sense. If Rome were located not on the Tiber River but at the Brenner Pass, the battle for Rome would be necessary and its terrible consequences, Pope or no Pope, should be confronted as an unavoidable disaster for Rome, Italy, and mankind. The fact is that when the present battle has been won the Allies will have to take care of the city where the German will have destroyed aqueducts, power stations, and all public utilities and one and half million people will have to be fed. And yet our armies will be no more than a few miles nearer to the vital centers of the enemy.

If really there are U. S. Army Chiefs who need arguments to justify the battle for Rome, they should seek for them elsewhere than in the fact that four-fifths of the Italians care little about the Pope.

Yours very truly,

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Fascists Still Dominant in Italy

To the New York Herald Tribune:

In an editorial of March 7 the Herald Tribune, commenting upon a letter from "six eminent spokesmen of Italian liberalism and anti-Fascism," published in the same issue, denounced the state of confusion and "the anomalies of the situation in which Italy and the Italian people have been left by the obscure course of Allied policy."

At the same time, however, the editorial remarked that those spokesmen of Italian liberalism "have read more into Mr. Churchill's statement of Feb. 22 than it actually conveyed. While the Prime Minister declared that he was for the present working to aid the government of the King and Badoglio and insisted that it was still the legitimate regime, he was specific in saying that once they reach Rome the Allies will be free to review the whole Italian political position and will do so."

To be sure, Mr. Churchill's words, taken at their face value, may suggest that he was speaking of only temporary measures and was promising changes in the future if advisable. But, unfortunately, our political warfare has been so prodigal with words contradicted by facts that we have got used to reading between the lines whenever we wish to understand what is going on.

Did not the three-power conference in Moscow impose upon the Allied command in Italy the obligation to see to it that "all Fascist or pro-Fascist elements be removed from the administration and public institutions," that "democratic organs of local government be created"; that "army generals known or suspected to be war criminals, be arrested and handed over to justice"?

In fact, however, prefects appointed by Mussolini to govern the provinces are still there with our blessing; the Provinces of Sicily, Sardinia and southern Italy, formerly governed by the A. M. G., instead of being allowed to create their local administrations were turned over to the King and Badoglio and their ex-Fascist functionaries; generals and officers of the army known as war criminals, beginning with Badoglio himself, who used poison gas against the Abyssinians, remain unmolested in positions of military command. Facts count more than words.

But the words of Mr. Churchill, even taken at their face value, contain such a patent contradiction as to make it unnecessary to read between the lines. The important and vital point in his statement is that "we are working for the present to aid the government of Badoglio and the King." How and what for are we giving aid to the King? Obviously, by trying to force the Italian people to accept the King's government and to rally around the royal flag, in the expectation that they would use all their resources in men and material to fight the common enemy.

by the Italians. Why then should we continue to give aid to the King and Badoglio? The only result of this policy cannot be other but that of giving to the King the time, the opportunity and the means of securing a firm grip over the vital agencies of administration and government of the liberated regions, of obtaining revenues for the royal treasury and, above all, of organizing a military police force strong enough to suppress in Fascist style any anti-monarchical movement of the unarmed and helpless populations when our armies withdraw from Italy.

But Italians evidently have re-the government and administration fused to rally around the ex-Fascist of the liberated regions, where his King and his government. As a authority had been suspended; the matter of fact, Badoglio, following the turning over of the schools and of the injunction of the Moscow relief institutions of those re-declaration, tried to make his gov-gions to the ecclesiastical hierarchy ernment "more democratic by inclu-composed of royalist reactionary ex-son of representatives of those sec-Fascist prelates; the forbearance by tions of the Italian people who have which we allow Badoglio to keep always opposed Fascism," and failed Fascist prefects and other function-because no democrat of the anti-aries in positions of government; our Fascist coalition was willing to servezeal in keeping in the leash the anti-his country under a King who had monarchical democratic forces—all been the accomplice of Mussolini these facts speak more clearly than and was no less responsible than words. Mr. Churchill's policy is that the ex-Duce for Italy's ruin.

Having promised Italians in the remain for the present but to consolidate itself for the future. The promise made to the Italian people that when the time comes they will be free to choose their form of government cannot be taken seriously if at the same time we are disposing things in such a way as to make any choice impossible except by a bloody revolution.

Italians of the democratic anti-monarchical coalition have not asked and do not expect Mr. Churchill to proclaim the Italian republic; this is not his business; but the Italians have the right to ask and to expect that the ex-Fascist King be set aside and that his powers be suspended for the duration, as the price that he has to pay for his responsibility in bringing about Italy's ruin and as a token to the Italian people that their freedom of choice shall not be a kind of Fascist fiction. After all, the powers of the crown are now mostly vested in the Allied Commission, whose approval must be obtained by Badoglio for all important measures of government. These powers the commission will continue

We have failed to rally the Italians around the royal flag and as a consequence we have failed to obtain their co-operation in the war effort. Our American correspondents in Italy, either speaking for themselves or quoting our military officers, complain day in and day out of the lack of effective collaboration in the war

FREEDOM FOR ITALY NOW

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD TRIBUNE

In view of the statements made by Prime Minister Churchill in his speech to the House of Commons on February 22, we, as men who have fought Fascism for years on all grounds and with all our powers, feel it our duty to denounce to the American people any attempt made now or in the future to force the Italian people to maintain the rule of the House of Savoy.

Up to the present the American people have been told by the authoritative voice of the President of the United States, and by diplomats and newspapermen that the Anglo-American armies of occupation in Southern Italy, while maintaining order and securing the cooperation of the Italian people in the war against Germany, assumed a neutral attitude so far as the problem of the Italian regime was concerned; that the recognition extended to the King and to the Badoglio government was only a temporary measure and that the Italian people should be left free to choose its own form of government. Meanwhile, having failed to gather the Italians around the royal flag, Badoglio had stated more than once that he would resign as soon as the Allied armies reached Rome.

But lately Badoglio has taken back his promise and now he states that he will remain in power so long as the King—not the Italian people—does not choose another government. And now Mr. Churchill, removing all doubts, has told the Italians and the whole world that the King and Badoglio “were and up to the present are the legitimate government of Italy.”

There is no legitimate government which lacks the confidence of its people. A government which for twenty years has constantly, systematically, and willfully violated the Constitution, upon which solely rested its agreement with the people, can no longer claim to be legitimate. These principles have been subscribed for ever by the American and the British people through the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Churchill in his speech mentioned the advantages derived from the King's surrender; but Gen. Eisenhower stated, on December 27th: “The surrender did not give us all we had hoped for. If the surrendering Italian army had done its utmost, we could have had all of Italy.” Certainly the fault was not of the Italian soldiers, but of Badoglio and the King, their commander-in-chief. Mr. Churchill does not mention, but certainly knows that the Italian partisans in the north of Italy, without leaders, without arms and ammunition, have done more damage and more sabotage to the Germans than all the armed forces arrayed under the King and Badoglio. It is a fact that Italian volunteers, willing to fight the Germans but not willing to swear fidelity to the Fascist King, have been disbanded in the southern province.

Furthermore, it is a most regrettable fact that the governments of the United Nations have steadily refused to permit the organization of a free Italian legion composed of free Italians. Not a single unit of the Italian Army is now fighting on the beach-head in front of Rome! This situation is humiliating and insulting for the entire Italian people, but it is proof that in Mr. Churchill's plans at the present there is no room for Italians to fight side by side with the United Nations, redeeming Italy with the blood of free Italians from the crimes of the Fascist monarchy. Almost at the same time that Mr. Churchill was speaking of “Italian armed forces,” Badoglio was saying that he had no army but THAT HE COULD FORM ONE if the Allies gave him weapons and means. The fact is that the Italians have refused to rally around him and his King.

Mr. Churchill's fear that a new government representing the Italian people might “resist as much as they dare the demands made upon them by the Allied armies” is anguishing and hardly understandable. The Allies need not worry about any lack of cooperation on the side of the Italian democrats, if their demands are in keeping with the ideals of “liberty

and justice for all.” To these ideals and to the struggle against Fascism and Nazism the Italian antifascists have pledged their honor and their lives.

Certainly no Italian government of free men who for years have fought against Fascism and who represent the healthy democratic forces of Italy could or would ever accept dishonorable demands. We are confident that Mr. Churchill will realize that any injustice committed today, even if this be not a time for ideological preferences, would only sow the bitter seed of hatred, which in time would produce its fruits. Why should the British and American governments inflict upon Italy the shame of continuing to be ruled by a monarchy which has lost even the slightest claim to respect and all possibilities of being a constructive force in Italian rehabilitation?

The record of the monarchy in the past twenty years is known to every Italian and it should be known to the American and the British peoples.

In October, 1922, the Italian cabinet presented to the king a decree of martial law to put down the Fascist armed revolt against the constitutional government and against the democratic institutions of the nation. This decree the King refused to sign. On October 28, disregarding the constitutional practice, the King appointed as head of the government the leader of the Fascist rebels, who were represented in the Parliament by a small minority of 35 members out of a total of 525.

In 1923, the King violating the constitutional principle that armed forces belong to the nation, signed the decree by which the Fascist squads of rebels and gangsters were organized into a “Voluntary Militia for National Security” bound by a personal oath of allegiance to Mussolini.

In July, 1923, the King signed the decree introducing a new Electoral Law which practically put the Parliament at the mercy of the Fascist Party.

In 1924, after the Matteotti murder,

AN LIFE ITALIAN MANIFESTO

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SIX EMINENT ITALIAN EXPATRIATES
CONDEMN ALLIED POLICY IN ITALY
AND DEMAND A REBIRTH OF FREEDOM

Georgio Labriola

Luigi Salvatorelli

G. A. Borghese

Gaetano Salvemini

Randolfo Pacciardi

Roberto Turcati

THE POLICY of the allied governments against fascist Italy was dictated from the beginning by cross purposes, as morally objectionable as they were to prove futile in practice. The western powers wanted the elimination of the pro-German government embodied in the Duce of Fascism, whom they singled out as "one man, one man alone." They strove at the same time for the preservation of the fascist monarchy and for the creation of a demofascist government to be supported by a coalition of reactionary forces.

This policy failed in its main purpose, that of defaching the monarchy from the fascist dictatorship and thus bringing about Italy's withdrawal from the Axis and from the war. The fall of Mussolini in July 1943 was caused primarily by the antifascist, antimonarchical revolt which, beginning in the month of March, disorganized the fascist machine and reached its climax with the allies' invasion of Italy. But this revolt was unwanted by the allies. No plans had been made to take advantage of it; the German Army was given the time to take over the full control of Italy. The surrender of the king and Badoglio in September 1943 was little more than a futile gesture: Italy remained to be conquered inch by inch. The policy of the allies failed also to rally the Italian masses of the liberated provinces for a common supreme effort against the Nazi enemy.

The British and American governments obdurately insisted on retaining in power the fascist king and the king's marshal. For eight months we witnessed the strange spectacle of the armies of the democracies fighting against the Nazi armies at the front and in the rear a few miles away protecting the throne of a fascist king against the reborn Italian democratic forces.

Finally through the intervention of Russia, the antifascist cabinet of the six parties in southern Italy, subjected to a combined pressure, was won over to join in a coalition cabinet under the king and the marshal.

We have condemned from the beginning the policy of the allies because we believe that the Italian people have lost all faith in corrupt and criminal institutions and men that cannot possibly guide them

This is the anguished voice of Italy. Six distinguished sons of Italy cry out their bitter feelings about allied policy toward the country to which they all still owe an allegiance of the heart. They use strong words. They use words like those of the 19th Century Italian patriot and unifier, Mazzini, who fought for freedom against Austria. Perhaps this manifesto is too late to have decisive influence on allied policy in Italy; perhaps even if it had come earlier it would not have been heeded by the makers of that policy. But the ring of these words should be pondered by all Americans who wish to think responsibly about their country's part in world affairs—for there will be other policies to make for other lands beyond Italy.

toward a democratic and dignified future. We condemn for the same reason the surrender of the antifascist parties, the result of which is that Italian problems have been thrown into a state of utmost confusion.

We believe that the "expediency" of April 1944, sponsored and willed by England, the U. S. and Russia, is a severe blow to the

interests of the United Nations as well as to those of Italy and to the cause of peace in a civilized world.

No country today or in the recorded past presents a scene of greater devastation than the land where the undersigned were born. Two-thirds of Italy, from the Alps to Rome, writhes in the double grip of Nazism and Fascism, foreign oppression and domestic terror, with political assassination riddling the country, with hostages executed by the hundreds, and popular insurrection flaring up against desperate odds, while the governments of the western democracies ignore or watch with irreconcilable suspicion that unique agony. What is left, between the peninsular battlefront and the African sea, was severed from the bulk of the nation by the liberators with a cut that has bled for months on end. There, in the kingdom of Naples with the two large islands, where the double rule of the AMG and a puppet monarchy has been forced on a disfranchised people, malnutrition, inflation and black market are almost as dismal as in the fascist-Nazi regions; apathy or grudge is the attitude of the numbed masses toward conquerors whose traditional humanitarianism, while in obvious contrast to Nazi-fascist ferocity, is not illumined by intelligent friendship. Many of these evils are the inevitable consequence of war. Yet solemn pledges of yesteryear have given way to intrigue and cynicism; conceit and contempt are often displayed in the irresponsible prose of many a professional journalist, of many an official visitor. Extermination is the word for the north; confusion, with corruption, for the south.

Nothing short of defeat by armed power can have effect on Nazi-fascist savagery. Reason should still speak to the civilization of the West.

As long as there is a world of nations there will be an Italian nation. Its claim to survival and rebirth is founded not so much on the memories of the past as it is on the presence and weight of its 45,000,000 at the

'Liberated' Italy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

MUSSOLINI is the Nazi rubber stamp in "occupied" Italy. King Victor Emmanuel is the Anglo-Saxon rubber stamp in "liberated" Italy. "Victor Emmanuel," said the correspondent of the *New York Times* on October 12, "is the king, but the power behind his throne is the Allied Mission, and as things are shaping now, it is still going to be behind the throne when Victor Emmanuel is again king of Italy in Rome." In its turn the Allied Mission carries out orders coming from London and Washington through Algiers. The Algiers correspondent of the *Times* cabled on November 28 that "as long as the Allies will let him," the King will "cling to his throne," but that the last word "is after all more up to Washington and London than to the Allied authorities in Italy and here [Algiers]." If one keeps this basic fact in mind, one is in a position to understand the events which are taking shape in Italy.

In November, when he still hoped to arrange some compromise with the Committee of National Liberation in Naples, Badoglio made the following promise: "As far as I am concerned, once we reach Rome I shall be delighted to rid myself of my heavy burden." But the possibility of compromise was wrecked by the committee's stubborn demand that the King and his son should be removed. On December 5, therefore, Badoglio altered his plans. He told the United Press that he would resign only when "all Nazis are expelled from the last inch of Italian territory." A thousand years ago an astrologer promised the King of Egypt that he would teach a goat how to speak, but he gave himself ten years in which to do the job; during those ten years he was sure that the King or the goat or he himself would die. Pending the day when the Germans have been driven from the last inch of Italian territory, the Italian soldiers and officers who were forming volunteer units under Allied command were disbanded. The Italian war of liberation is to be fought under the King's shadow and not otherwise. The red, white, and green emblem of Italian nationhood has vanished; only the emblem of the royal house survives. The soldiers' uniform has "the cross of Savoy over the left breast pocket." "All vehicles are also marked with the cross of King Victor Emmanuel's house." This Badoglio and the Allied Mission have decreed.

On December 6, three months after the "unconditional surrender" of September 8, the first unit of Italian soldiers was used against the German lines. Most of them were massacred. As the *New York Herald Tribune* re-

ported, "that gallant, pathetic drive could have ended only in slaughter." The King needed some hundreds of dead to demonstrate his prestige. He got them. Until September 8, 1943, the Italians had to fight against the Allies for Hitler and Mussolini. Now they have to fight against the Germans for the King and Badoglio. They will never, it seems, be permitted to fight for an Italy belonging to themselves.

On December 5 Badoglio announced that when military operations have been completed, the "entire nation" will not "decide" what shall be the ultimate solution of the constitutional problem but will merely "participate" in the solution. "The government would establish a constituent assembly of the two chambers which would express the people's feelings on the form of government they want." The "constituent assembly" would thus not be "elected by the people." It would be set up by the government and would consist of "two chambers"—that is, the Senate, whose present members, except for some decrepit bigwigs, were all appointed by the King on Mussolini's nomination and may be multiplied indefinitely at the King's discretion, and a lower house which Badoglio took care not to describe. On this, as on all points, the King and Badoglio—which means the powers in Algiers, London, and Washington that are behind the throne—will have the last word.

American and British authorities seem to be much concerned with the political opinions of the southern Italian peasantry. The *New York Times* Algiers correspondent told us on November 28 that "the southern Italian peasants, as against the more industrialized northern workers, are much more likely to be moved by appeals for King Victor Emmanuel than many people in the Allied world would like. And this feeling simply cannot be wholly ignored." If the southern Italian peasant should want to become the owner of the land he cultivates with the sweat of his brow, his desire might disturb the peace of mind of the Duke of Wellington, who owns a large estate at Bronte in Sicily and is a high official in the AMG there; in such an instance the feeling of the peasant would be ignored. Nor are the feelings of the workers of northern and central Italy, who are known not to want to have anything to do with royalty, to be considered. The only feeling which is to be taken into account is the alleged sentiment of the southern Italian peasants for the King—although how that sentiment has

The New Unconditional Surrender

By George La Piana



For several months the coalition of the six anti-fascist parties in Naples spurned all offers to join the Badoglio government and resisted the pressure brought to bear on them by the British and American authorities. "No compromise with the king," they said to Badoglio; "You cannot have both us and the king" they said to the Allies. Left with a king without prestige and without honor on their hands and with an old general whose only qualification for leading the government was his mentality of corporal, the Allies needed desperately competent and respected Italians willing to assume the responsibility of government under the king while kept on a short leash by British and American representatives. This policy was most solemnly stated at the Moscow conference. The old promise that at the end of the war the Italian people will be left free to choose their government was repeated once more.

The coalition of the six anti-fascist parties, or "united front" in fact lacked political cohesion. From the very beginning the old school liberals such as Croce and all the conservatives, the clericals and many demo-christians, were clamoring for the elimination of the old king—and some of them only half-heartedly—but not of the monarchy. Socialists, Communists and democrats of the Action Party on the contrary were committed to the outright abolition of the monarchical regime. The "united front" was not united at all: it lacked a definite common political program and hence a definite policy of action. The stumbling bloc was the monarchy, for twenty years the symbol of fascism

and now still the curse of Italy's political life.

How flimsy the structure of the coalition was, appeared very soon when somebody suggested the compromise of a regency. Let the king abdicate, let the Crown Prince give up his claim to the succession to the throne in favor of his six year-old child under a regency; whether a Badoglio regency, or a Sforza-Croce regency, or of all three, it did not seem that it mattered very much. To most people this plan was not unpalatable; many republicans accepted it as a lesser evil than either the existing Badoglio government or the continuation of the stalemate with the Allies. Undoubtedly it would have been a lesser evil than a complete surrender to the king; but on the other hand, it was itself a surrender to the monarchy, apparently for the time being, but in fact with such implications as to give to the monarchy a new lease of life. Men like Croce and Sforza whose names were more commonly quoted as the future regents—not to speak of Badoglio—belong to the so-called liberal but conservative tradition as regents if they had to act as men of honor they would have been duty bound to look after the interests of their royal pupil and to do their best to preserve the monarchy. A gentleman can fight against a king but no gentleman may take advantage of a child to rob him of his inheritance. The plan for a regency was not only a surrender, but, instead of simplifying the situation, would have created new difficulties and new problems.

But Mr. Churchill did not want a regency or any other solution

which implied the abdication of the present king. In his address to the Commons of February 22, he stated frankly his fear that any anti-fascist government without the king would be forced, by the Italian people, to resist the fulfillment of the terms imposed upon Badoglio and the king at their surrender in September, 1943. According to rumors enhanced by the deep secret which still hides them from the public, these terms contain the loss by Italy of a part of its national territory wrested from Austria in the first world war. The king must then remain in power, and the terms of the surrender must remain secret till the day in which the transfer of those territories will be an accomplished fact against which the Italians will be powerless to react in any form. Mr. Churchill too wanted the widening of Badoglio's government, but only for the purpose of forcing the liberal democratic and leftist parties to assume a direct share in the responsibilities saddled upon the king and Badoglio at their surrender.

In America, the State Department under the pressure of public opinion which, with the exception of clericals and bankers, was becoming more and more vocal against the king seemed to have begun to look with favor upon the plan of an Italian regency. There were some lunatics—not in the State Department—who even spoke of the possibility of making Sforza a king. Churchill rushed to repairs. In his speech of February 22, already quoted, Mr. Churchill declared first that the British views concerning Poland were not very different from those of Stalin; then he went out of his

Italian War Prisoners



ACCORDING TO INFORMATION given out by the press recently, 95,000 captives of war were held in 38 United States camps; 45,000 were Germans and 50,000, Italians.

Many of the prisoners were farmers and naturally they may be utilized on farm lands. Others are building roads, working on dams, irrigation developments and similar projects. Many have special skills, like carpentry, stone masonry, house painting and tailoring; let us hope that they will be put to work.

The arms of those men will thus be employed. But what about their minds?

We have often been told that America has to "re-educate," nay "decontaminate," Europe. We may now "decontaminate" thousands of souls right here in this country without taking the trouble of going to Europe. What could be done? What is being done?

No doubt the captives, especially those who work on farms, will be treated with humanity everywhere. How the German prisoners will respond to generous treatment I am not in a position to say, since I have no wide experience with German mentality. But I know Italians and I am sure that humanity and generosity will not be wasted on most of them. This will be the first and not the least efficient means of reeducating them politically.

In Italy for twenty years the school, the book, the newspaper, the radio—everything has conspired to discredit democratic institutions and destroy democratic tradition. Each generation needs to be taught again the truths which come from past generations. If this work of education is not begun again for every newcomer, the tradition breaks down and mankind loses all it has gained from its past trials and errors. For our war prisoners we can mend the thread that fascism has broken.

Papers and radio talks should tell them how democracy works day by day in Britain and the United States. Its shortcomings should not be concealed; on the contrary, they should be frankly admitted and criticized. But its advantages for the common man in his daily life, the guarantees it offers to his moral dignity and welfare, the opportunities it opens for free coöperation against injustice and evil, should be described and commented upon. The prisoner should be made to realize that he can work not only *against* fascism, but *for* something better, and that this something better already exists within the reach of his hand.

For twenty years the history of Italy has been falsified by unscrupulous scyphants. In this connection also the thread has been broken and has to be mended. Books should be reprinted or translated into Italian

from other languages: "The Life of Lorenzo Benoni," by Giovanni Ruffini, the lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini by Jessie White-Mario, "The Italian Patriots," by Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco, "Garibaldi and the Thousand" and "The Defense of Rome," by George Trevelyan, Ignazio Silone's "Fontamara," "Bread and Wine" and "The Seed Beneath the Snow," Borgese's "Goliath," and so on. The junior officers would find in these books healthy food for their starved minds. At least one weekly paper should be published. And some radio commentator should broadcast to the prisoners.

Among the war prisoners there are Fascists, anti-Fascists and men who hate Mussolini and fascism but do not know what to expect, what to hope, what to love. Are all these men to be herded together? Such a tragic mistake was made by the British in 1940 when they had to dispose of Italian "enemy aliens." The story went around that an internee who protested that he was an anti-Fascist was told: "We do not care what kind of Fascist you are." Perhaps the story was not true, but there are legends that are truer than history. In Canada the Fascist Catholic priests who had for twenty years poisoned the minds of Italians, were set free under the protection of their bishops, whereas anti-Fascist workers were kept in concentration camps.

In India the prisoners were put under the supervision of an English newspaperman, Mr. I. S. Munro, who had lived in Rome as one of Mussolini's apologists and to whom we owe a book, "Through Fascism to World Power," filled from the first to the last page with disgusting Fascist junk. A few months ago, agents of the Fascist Party still controlled the camps. The prisoners had to accept Fascist membership cards and pay their dues to the party. The chaplains worked hand in glove with the Fascist "party chiefs" or "hierarchs." Four anti-Fascists were killed in one camp, and one in another. In Australia an anti-Fascist, Francesco Fantini, on November 16, 1942, was killed by the Fascists among whom he was forced to live. We are told that at last the British authorities realized that a division must be made between fire and water. But already most people had been subdued by Fascist terror. They were afraid that as soon they disclosed their views, the British would again leave them unprotected against the Fascist gangsters.

What about America?

From The New York Herald Tribune of May 31, 1943, we gather that among the German war prisoners who work at the Denison Dam reservoir, "a Catholic priest conducts mass in the open for those of that faith,



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THE FRONTIERS OF ITALY

By GAETANO SALVEMINI

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MEMORANDUM ON ITALY

by

Luigi Sturzo



Brooklyn, 7 May 1944

I. The Italian Army

The first and main problem of all Italy, both free and occupied, is that of the formation of an effective Army, supported by aviation, to fight at the side of the Allies. Today only the Navy is making a valuable contribution, which could even be increased, if the Allies wanted it.

Let us remember:

a) That beyond a certain number of organized divisions and a few units already at the front, there are troops in Sicily, originally located in Sardinia, and perhaps still others in Sardinia, which should be transferred to the mainland.

b) That there are many Italian prisoners in the United States, Africa and India. Of the more than 50,000 prisoners in the U.S., many have declared their willingness to go back to Italy and fight. For other aspects of the prisoners' problem, see under VI.

c) That the conclusions drawn by Hanson Baldwin, military correspondent of the New York Times, as to the lack of good front line officers, do not appear well-founded on the basis of information coming from both English and American military sources. There is no doubt as to the presence of suitable officers to form the backbone of a new army, even if there might be many who have to be set aside. What is needed is an accurate selection, together with proper use of officers who are prisoners.

d) That Italian troops lack adequate armaments and sufficient ammunition. These must be provided by the Allies. Basically, the limited role played in military operations by the Italian Army is due to this lack. There may be serious technical difficulties to be surmounted, but it appears that there is also a tendency to keep Italian troops in the background, using them in ancillary services, rather than giving them front-line responsibilities. There are reasons to think that this is primarily the result of a general policy, with aims which go beyond any military consideration.

II. Co-belligerency

If what has just been said is true, it would indicate a lack of loyalty in the relationship towards Italy. I have

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"Purifying" Italy

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Thompson Rowell acts as Educational Officer for the AMG in Rome. He is "responsible for the purification of Rome's cultural life," as we were told by Homer Bigart, correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, on July 16. Colonel Rowell set to work by asking Beniamino Gigli, the tenor, to sing for a gala performance in honor of the Allied Armies. Gigli had earned a good deal of money at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, but when he returned to Italy he did not hesitate to make various insulting remarks about the United States. Gigli was a loyal Fascist. During the terrible days from September, 1943, until May, 1944, when the citizens of Rome were being mowed down by the Nazis, he sang frequently for the entertainment of German officers. "Yes, it is true that I sang for the Fascists and for the Germans," Gigli told the correspondent of the Associated Press. "And now that the Americans and British are here, I would like to sing for them too."

Believe it or not, there are Italians in Rome today who do not intend to be "purified" by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell. They raised such a rumpus that the Colonel had to rush Gigli off the scene. But the Colonel is determined to purify Rome's cultural life at any cost. Consequently, he entrusted Maestro Bernardino Molinari with the task of conducting Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Molinari had also been a loyal Fascist and had selected an orchestra for the German high command.

Again the Romans answered the Colonel, implying that he would be wiser if he went back to teaching Latin at Johns Hopkins. As Homer Bigart informed us, "The politically-minded gallery whistled, cat-called, and made such a hubbub that Molinari was unable to proceed." What about the automobile Maelzer gave you? yelled one member of the anti-Fascist clique. (Maelzer was the German commander in Rome.) How about those concerts you gave for the Tedeschi (Germans)? another shout-co. Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell "tried to silence the demonstration," but he could not arrest "the flow of abuse from the gallery."

If Washington or London had been under Nazi occupation, as Rome was from September, 1943, to May, 1944, would Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell have asked pro-Nazi tenors and conductors to participate in gala performances and concerts in honor of British or American "liberators"? AMG lieutenant-colonels must come to realize that at the height of Mussolini's "benevolent despotism," when they were visiting Italy's monuments guided by wretched men who would have found themselves in jail had they not sung the praises of Mussolini, thousands of Italians were languishing in prisons or on penal islands, or were being starved and humiliated by a regime that was really the "negation of God." Whoever arranges performances in Italy today with Fascist tenors or Fascist conductors as the guest stars, who ever consorts with high officials of the Fascist military and civil hierarchy, with Fascist mayors, Fascist business men, Fascist gentlemen, Fascist bishops, whoever does that challenges the moral code of the whole people.

The incidents in Rome are a taste of what will happen in Florence, Leghorn, and Ancona on a larger scale. As for Bologna, Genoa, Turin, Milan, and Venice, American and

British officials and commanders will do well to travel about in armored cars, unless the mistakes they have made in southern Italy are corrected quickly.

As part of the purification of Rome's cultural life, Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell is responsible for "restoring the university to its former greatness," Mr. Bigart has reported. Rowell chose as temporary rector of the university Professor Giuseppe Caronia, a specialist in infectious diseases and venereal diseases, in addition to being a good scholar, is an honest man, who was unjustly treated under the Fascist regime and who will undoubtedly carry out his task in a spirit of justice and with common sense. One only wonders why the choice was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell and not by the Minister of Public Education in the Italian Cabinet. AMG officials should supervise the work of the Italian authorities so that it does not interfere with the war effort, but they should not continue to wear the mantle that rightfully belongs to Italian authorities when the war effort cannot possibly be affected by local affairs. The Minister of Public Education, Signor De Ruggiero, no less than the other Cabinet ministers, has been blessed with the approval of the Allied Control Commission. He is a learned and honest man. The duty of "purifying" the University of Rome and all other universities should be vested in him and not in a gentleman from Baltimore, Maryland.

But Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell held the reins tightly in his hands. He announced that, like music, "the university must remain above politics." He set up a committee, not to "purge" or "punish" the university—these words, he said, were "too strong"—but to "rehabilitate" the university. And he appointed to serve on that committee two ardent Fascists: Dr. Nicola Spano and Professor Filippo Vassalli. Commenting on these appointments, an Italian paper published a cartoon which showed a black-shirted man hurrying down the street, saying: "I have been appointed to the purification committee and I have not even had time to change my shirt." When he realized that he had blundered, Colonel Rowell disclosed that he had "received and accepted Vassalli's resignation." As for Dr. Spano he was retained as administrative director of the University.

The more one reads about what is being done in Italy, the more one is compelled to ask oneself whether our bigwigs really intend to make America and England hateful to all democratic Italians. An American professor has been sent to Italy to take care of the Italian archives. Do the gentlemen in Washington really think that an American professor is needed for that job? Where the archives have been bombed away, there is no need to take care of them anyway. And while they still exist, their old personnel exists too. As a rule, these are good, devoted, helpful people, who know and cherish as their own child the archives. Putting an outsider in charge of the Italian archives is an insult to hundreds of decent and humble men to whom the archives are home and life.

Jewish communities are also being "purified." This means that the Jews are not allowed to purify themselves but that the purification is foisted on them from above. Under Mussolini everything came from above. In "liberated" Italy, everything still comes

from above. Thus Commendatore Angelo Sullam has been chosen from above as head of the Jewish community of Bari. Of course, he was a loyal Fascist. And in Rome, Ottolenghi has been chosen from above as commissioner for the Jewish community of Rome. Of course, he was a loyal Fascist. On May 25, 1937, they signed a statement to the effect that "the Italians of Hebrew faith are, and in unambiguous terms announce that they are, enemies of every Jew, and of every Jew, as a Masonic, subversive, and especially anti-Fascist international."

Not only Italy's cultural life, not only Italy's archives, but Italy's penal code has to be purified. This task, fortunately, can be performed in New York. PM has told us that the International Commission for Penal Reconstruction and Development has entrusted the Chief Clerk of the Court of Special Sessions in New York with the task of expurgating fascism from the Italian penal code. The gentlemen of that International Commission think that there are no jurists in Italy? Do they think that Italy's archives is a vacuum to be filled with printed paper from New York? I am not a lawyer by trade, but I suspect that if those gentlemen were not altogether in the same sense, they would send into Italy a draft of a bill consisting of no more than three articles: (1) political crimes committed by jurists shall be investigated and punished according to the penal code; (2) all other crimes shall be investigated and punished according to the code that was in force before the March on Rome, October 28, 1922; (3) amnesties granted to political criminals after October 28, 1922, are null and void.

We must denouncing these blunders, we must not forget the intelligence, imagination, skill, and resourcefulness which America, Britain, and Russia are displaying in the field of production to make that war effort possible. We must not overlook the magnificent job that AMG officers are doing in Italy, against tremendous odds, in fighting epidemics, rehabilitating bridges, roads, aqueducts, and power stations, and in feeding the population. Wherever material obstacles have to be overcome, Anglo-Saxon ingenuity performs miracles. But one can admire miracles in the field of material endeavor and yet be sorry for the ineptitude that becomes apparent every time moral and political problems are tackled.

To be fair, one must admit that the blunders made in Italy in an attempt to "liberate" Italian life and "resuscitate" the Italian people to democracy are often prompted by a sincere desire to help a people which is in great need. But the desire to make a queer bias toward Europe, Continental Europe, Britain and America believe, is inhabited by inferior races. There is a brutal desire to make Germany Herrenvolk and there is a suave, sugar-coated doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Herrenvolk. Roman civilization was a doctrine of consumption, and it was a great pity; it was the best the ancient world could produce, and its collapse brought about centuries of barbarism and decay and suffering. It would be a great pity if Anglo-Saxon civilization came to an end; it is the best the modern world has produced.

If it ever comes to an end, it will die not of consumption but of presumption.

GAETANO SALVEMINI
(From The Nation, August 26, 1944)

Italian Prisoners

DIRECTOR OF THE
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
BOSTON, MASS.

SIR,
As a result of a sidewalk strike and a brawl that occurred at Camp McKay, in South Boston, 50 members of the Italian Service Units were returned to their status of prisoners of war and to the discipline of P.O.W. stockades.

We beg to lay before the fair-minded readers of your paper some facts which will put these events in true perspective.

Are the Italian prisoners of war still prisoners of war? Two armistice treaties were entered into by the Allied powers and the Italian Government, one on Sept. 3, 1943, and one on Sept. 29, 1945. Italy is no longer at war with the United States. Consequently the Italian captives should no longer be regarded as prisoners of war.

Article 75 of the Geneva Convention states that: "When belligerents conclude an armistice convention, they shall normally cease to be included therein provisions concerning the repatriation of prisoners of war." Nobody knows what kind of provisions have been made, if any, by the signatories of the two armistices concerning the Italian prisoners of war. According to normal procedure, they should have been repatriated. Lack of transportation facilities as well as other plausible reasons have made it preferable to keep them here for the time being.

Asked to Co-operate

At any rate, last March the 50,000 Italian war prisoners were asked by the United States military authorities to state in writing whether or not they wished to co-operate with the United States and, if so, whether they were prepared to take part in military operations.

Those who refused to co-operate went on being regarded as war prisoners. The others were divided from them. If private, they were put to work on maintenance and supply duties under the command of a few Italian officers who in their turn are under the supervision of American officers. These officers who were prepared to co-operate were also divided from the non-cooperators. Last June they were told that neither they nor the private would be permitted to fight and that should stop pending in applications to this effect.

The private who co-operate no longer hear on their backs the mark "P. O. W." Instead the word "Italy" adorns their left sleeves. But while the prisoners who refused to co-operate remained in prisoners camps do not work and receive 80 cents a day, those who do co-operate and have to work, often at very heavy work indeed, also receive 80 cents a day.

Question of Pay

Article 36 of the Geneva Convention states that, unless a different rate of pay is fixed by agreements between the belligerents, "work done for the state shall be paid for according to the rates in force for soldiers of the national forces doing the same

work, or, if no such rates exist, according to a tariff corresponding to the work executed." Are we to understand that the Italian Government has agreed that Italian war prisoners who co-operate and work are to be paid 80 cents a day like those who do not co-operate and do not work?

The Italian war prisoners do not know of any such agreement. They were told by their officers that if they co-operated they would no longer be regarded as prisoners of war. When they did co-operate, they found that, although they no longer bore the mark "P. O. W." on their backs, they still had to live within fences and that they had to do heavy work without increase in their earnings.

Naturally they feel victims of a cruel mockery.

To make matters still worse, committees have been set up among citizens and residents of Italian origin with the task of entertaining these men. Everywhere such committees have included former Fascists and post-Pearl Harbor converts to the Four Freedoms. Boston we find a the "Committee of representative Italian-Americans" venerable of the ex-pro-Fascist Order of the Sons of Italy, Knights of Columbus, the publisher of a daily which even in these days writes apologies for Mussolini, an individual who before Pearl Harbor carried the daily Fascist propaganda over one of the Boston radio stations, and similar ex-fascist "prominent" who still proudly wear the decorations accorded them by Mussolini.

Re-educators' Views

Here is what one of these "re-educators" of the Italian war prisoners said a few days ago: "I am sure that there is nobody among my hearers who, during these war times, did not have some hard experience. You saw with your own eyes many Italians being unjustly sent to concentration camps. You had the opportunity of noticing how many Italo-Americans have been arbitrarily dismissed from radio stations and deprived of their jobs. You have remarked how not a few citizens have been denationalized without any legal reason. In short, you have seen the citizens of Italian origin subjected to every kind of insult and discrimination."

When the Italian war prisoners are entrusted to the care of such "re-educators," it is not difficult to guess how distorted are the notions they get about American democracy, American justice, and American humanity. Better to secure the success of this "re-education." Anti-Fascists are not allowed to come in contact with the prisoners.

Only relatives or persons sponsored by the Committee can visit them. As a matter of fact, the members of the aforesaid Committee and its branches are not at all relatives. Neither are the Roman Catholic priests who have access at any time to the camps.

To cap the climax, the civilian population among which these prisoners must live has not been told that they, Italians have freely chosen to work where a manpower shortage exists, that their work is helping America's war effort; that if they were priv-

ated from working, that war effort would be adversely affected—that they receive no more than 80 cents a day for work that they would do for some \$10 a day; that it is not their fault if the American Government prevents many of them from the place of American boys on the fighting fronts; that in New York from a suit of 800 of these prisoners, 580 were blood donors.

The American people have plenty of sense and generosity. Had they been informed about the real conditions of these men, no misunderstandings would have arisen. Had they realized that for years these men have lived away from their families first under straits of war and then as prisoners, the American people would not regard them with Christian sympathy and lend them a helping hand.

Unfortunately, all that the American people know about the Italian war prisoners is that some of them are being taken, like children, to the movies, or to the circus, or to the circus.

Not Informed

They do not understand why "prisoners of war" are "coddled" and "sponsored" while American boys are sent to battlefields. They write protesting letters to the press. Some have found a certain relief in throwing stones at men who have no defense. It would be interesting to know how many letters have been written and how many stones thrown by the Italian Frontists of Father Coughlin and Father Cerrus.

Under such conditions how can one wonder that these unhappy men are bitter and restless and that sit-down strikes and brawls occur? How can one wonder that sometimes they do not behave?

When unpleasant incidents arise, nothing is easier than to clement that a firm hand is necessary, that prisoners of war are prisoners of war, that they should be denied all special privileges, that they should be returned to their true status of prisoners of war, and so on. All right. But if they are to be "returned" to their true status of prisoners of war, we are to infer that such is not their status? That they are not prisoners of war? And if they are not prisoners of war, why has a second and a third fence been erected around them? Are the camps still to be flooded with abuse? If they return to Italy with bitterness in their hearts will it be entirely their fault?

Prisoners of war are not criminals, slaves, or cattle. They are human beings. Article 2 of the Geneva Convention, July 27, 1929, states that prisoners of war "shall at all times be humanely treated and protected, particularly against acts of violence, from insults, and from public curiosity." It has been and it is the policy of the United States to observe this rule even in the face of provocation and of maltreatment of our soldiers and prisoners by the enemy. Let us remain true to the tradition of intelligent generosity.

GEORGE LA PANZA
ALFRED LANG SALVENDY
(From the Christian Science Monitor, July 31, 1944)

EXPLANATION: Our armies are not regimented. They are composed of men of many different cultures and backgrounds. Military police are supposed to arrest soldiers who are guilty of misconduct, but it is impossible to expect Africans and Americans to know all the customs of Europeans.

Towards Northern Italy

For months and months we have been stating and retating, again and again that Northern Italy will be a more difficult nut to crack than Southern Italy and that the Allies should obtain in Northern Italy from the blunders they have made in Southern Italy. In Northern Italy those mistakes would have made fatal consequences. Our forecasts have become true much before we expected. That is what we read in a correspondence from Alexander H. Uhl published in PM, July 10, 1944.

I came as far north as I could to see if the men up here really meant business. I'm glad I did for I have met some tough ones, many of them.

I have talked with dozens of them; men with rifles over their shoulders, with partisan colors on their arms, occasionally with red stars for shoulder patches, and always with a fierce hatred of the Germans and just as fierce a determination for a democratic government and a new, free Italy.

The whole situation up here, far north of Rome, has changed with startling suddenness and it has presented a new series of problems for the Allies, for up here the problem is not how to take care of a helpless and passive people but how to live up to their expectations, something at which thus far we have failed disastrously.

British and American policy thus far has been to get what use we could out of the Italian partisans, thank them cordially when the battle was over, then wait a few days, direct them to turn in their arms and then try to submerge them with the rest of the population.

Their pleas for a national volunteer army have been rejected and they were apt to be a bit of a bother. Most of them were republican and could be generalized easily into that vague term communist, and they had ideas that didn't fit at all into the speeches that have been coming out of London.

That was all right while we were in the south. There were Partisans there that could be numbered merely in the hundreds and they hadn't much chance to organize. If they were unhappy about what happened later, it didn't really matter much.

With the liberation of Rome, there was enough new blood to force the dogma out of the government, and if they were still unhappy, it still was not too serious.

But up here, around Piombino and Vada and scores of other little Italian towns along or just behind the front, it is a different matter. Here the Partisans begin to number in the thousands. They have been enormously useful as guides and scouts and farther to the north they are even more numerous and well organized.

They can't be ignored here, not by the fighting men who know their value at any rate, and they aren't being ignored from the viewpoint of their military usefulness. The problem becomes what to do with them later and thus far the Allied Military Government (AMG) has no plans for them. No plans, at any rate, that are going to satisfy them.

Here are towns—not just isolated examples but scores of them—that are being run politically by the Italian Committee of National Liberation. For the most part the local fascist administrators have fled to the north. Scores of them, for example, from surrounding cities came into the sea coast town of Vada, stayed there two days, requisitioned all the local Red Cross and public vehicles, and then hit out for northern Italian cities.

The local Liberation committees thereupon selected their own town administrators, and it is these that are now functioning and for the most part are being recognized by the men in the field.

I talked with one of the leaders today. Yesterday I talked with others. They are not mild men. They are men who have the same fire in them that I recognized among the Yugoslavs at Bari. Up at the front they are still filled with the elan of battle. It is only when you talk with them in the areas that have been freed a week or more that you begin to catch the first flavor of bewilderment and uneasiness.

They want to go on fighting, but there is no place for them to fight except in the Royal Italian Army and most of them don't want that. They want their own Partisan National Army. The majority of them are republicans and have no use for the monarchy. Above all they want to run their own communities here.

The Committee of National Liberation is not a vague entity but the living force of the community. In the south there were mayors who said to departing AMG officers: "But what

Perhaps in an attempt to avoid sensationalism this dispatch has put the case of the Italians in a rather weak light. Yet other observers have found this disturbing pattern repeating itself elsewhere and there is much comment on the subject among correspondents and more thoughtful officers of Army and civilian services.

am I supposed to do now?" Here the problem is handling men who have very definite ideas on what they want to do and frequently what they want to do just doesn't fit into British and American—particularly British—policy.

It's a strange thing, but invariably they are described as communists, but when you begin asking them about their members they will tell you that among them are doctors and lawyers, frequently rich men, laborers, workers of all kinds, even priests.

The truth seems to be that while communists are undoubtedly among their chief leaders, the main mass of their support comes from people who are determined on a new Italian deal, generally lean to the left but don't have clear cut loyalties as yet.

They represent a new breed of men as compared with those of the south. There are Allied officers who deal with them up here who think that the whole question of Allied relations with the civilian populations in Northern Italy need a reexamination and some prompt action to prevent future disillusionment and perhaps even tragedy.

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The "Knights of Liberty"

In the summer of 1943, after the fall of Palermo, Lieutenant Colonel Paroli surrendered in Sicily, near Cefalù, to the Americans with his entire battalion. He told his soldiers: "You decide what we must do. I will go by your decision. If you intend to continue fighting, I will fight with you! If you decide to surrender, I will surrender with you. It is my opinion that this is an unjust war, and that in addition, we have lost it. Therefore, I am for surrendering. Now it is up to you." The soldiers and officers decided to surrender.

Paroli did not stop here. In September 1943, he started organizing a group of "Knights of Liberty". The first nucleus was of fifty people. By the first of January, they were 12,000 strong in Sicily. They all signed a death oath. They asked for uniforms, hand grenades and daggers. They asked to be sent to Anzio as shock troops ahead of the Americans and English. They were divided into groups of 50. Paroli showed that he could gather 2,000 at Cefalù in no more than twenty minutes. They refused to swear fidelity to the king. They were an insurrection on which flames rose out of Sicily to climb again along all Italy, up to the Alps: it was "the flame of liberty".

The American military authorities were ready to give them uniforms and arms. Badoglio, let it be said in homage of the truth, seeing that it would be impossible to force the oath of fidelity to the House of Savoy on such people, consented that they swear loyalty only to the nation.

In January 1944, these 12,000 men received the order to disband. Mr. Churchill had put his veto. The Italians must not fight. The Italians must be regarded all as cowards. So they have no moral rights. In Italy—English, Canadian, Australian, Poles, French, Brazilian, Moroccan, everybody must fight. The Italians alone must not. Only a single Italian division must exist, under the king's flag. It is allowed to fight and so acquire that bit of prestige which will authorize it to carry out repression in the post-war civil war. But what are 14,000 men that fight in a nation of 45 million cowards? And then, can't you imagine what men can do who are so well organized that they will authorize it to carry out repression in the post-war civil war? But what are 14,000 men that fight in a nation of 45 million cowards? And then, can't you imagine what men can do who are so well organized that they will authorize it to carry out repression in the post-war civil war? But what are 14,000 men that fight in a nation of 45 million cowards? And then, can't you imagine what men can do who are so well organized that they will authorize it to carry out repression in the post-war civil war?

And the king? And Badoglio? Why did they swallow Churchill's veto? Why did they give the order to disband? Should not Badoglio have resigned and the king abdicated, at least at that moment, as a protest and let Churchill assume the open responsibility of governing Italy as he pleased? The reason is simple. The king and Badoglio, these are cowards. By the two armistices of September 3 and 13 they have saved their skins and the monarchy. This alone matters. Whether the Italian people fight or not was not their business. Mr. Churchill needs men like those in Italy. Unfortunately he has found more than he needed.

Will there never be found a man among the politicians of the old Giolittian generation who is able to say no?

The American public is being told that Churchill's policy in Italy has the aim of saving the lives of American and English boys. It is not Mr. Churchill that takes care of this, but the Italian guerrillas, who have never signed any Munich pact with Hitler or any armistice either with Mussolini or with Mr. Churchill.

A Great People

(A letter from England)

... Everywhere the conversation turns to exchanging the latest bomb news. Our colleges have been again heavily blasted by two near misses, one of which took out all St. G. Wells' windows. I hope he was not there at the time. We adhere to our decision to reopen the College in Regent Park in October unless further bomb damage renders this physically impossible.

Here nothing has fallen yet within the half mile radius, though just beyond it the damage has been heavy. Last night two bombs flamed across my patch of sky and plunged a few seconds after vanishing over the roofs. Crashes near and distant are many. They are going on as I write. It is a fantastic exterior, picking raspberries in the garden and making batches of jam, not knowing whether oneself and the whole place will be a nasty mess of jam before one has finished.

The school boys and girls, doing their school-leaving exams, were incredibly cool. In Croydon I held an Oral with bombs coming over at the rate of several a minute at one period and the building jumping every now and again with the crashes, but the boy candidates went on articulating carefully their French reading passage and forming their replies to my French questions. And in a girls' school when a near miss made the steel framed building rock and took out windows and plaster, the girls in the basement shelter went white and sat still with pens poised ready to resume writing as soon as the building steadied and the dust subsided. Most of them are getting away now the exams are over.

L. M.

The Lieutenant General

From George Biddle's "Artist at War", New York. The Viking Press, 1944, p. 165:

"In the evening Gervasi and I sat with a group of officers in the moonlight under the trees. We talked about the headaches that will grow out of the war. Someone asked: 'Will Italy ever have a monarchy again?' I recalled the comment on the Prince of Savoy, the heir to the throne, made by an Italian field officer who was being questioned by a First Division interpreter at Gangi: 'da qualsiasi punto di vista, militare, morale e peccato, è un cretino' — From every point of view, military, moral, homosexual, he is an idiot." It had seemed a rather final indictment."

Italian War Relief #22

Letter to President Roosevelt

August 1, 1944

The President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

An American Committee for Italian Relief has been set up by your administration to handle the funds placed at its disposal and to send to Italy clothing and other goods collected in this country for that purpose. The establishment of this Committee was a praiseworthy act, in keeping with the humanitarian traditions of the American people.

Although the Committee was doubtless formed to prevent duplication of effort and waste of resources and time, it does not seem entirely wise that a monopoly on Italian war relief be given to one group. There are many who have, for one reason or another, little confidence in the Committee as it is constituted; there are others who prefer to make their contributions for specific purposes and without the intermediary of an organization not chosen by them.

Many American citizens and residents of Italian extraction—and we are among them—are asking themselves why one Committee should be vested with sole power to direct Italian war relief, and why the various religious, political, and benevolent organizations interested are not allowed to form committees of their own here for the purpose of helping those in Italy to whom they are bound by ties of family, friendship, and common interest.

Millions of American citizens, as well as American residents of Italian extraction, have relatives and friends in Italy to whom they are eager to give as much help as possible. It is

true that, through channels now available, a limited amount of American money can be sent, but letters from Italy make it clear that money is of little importance when clothes, shoes, and other necessities are not on the market.

As matters now stand, what is given to the Committee goes to unknown persons, while our friends and relatives, if they receive anything, receive it as anonymous charity from the hands of civil and ecclesiastical bureaucrats—often ex-Fascists—who may or may not be guided by personal bias and party prejudice.

It is not only the lower classes in Italy that are suffering. The people of the middle class, professors, civil servants, professional men, tradesmen, and artisans are in dire need of suitable clothing. Most of them are not accustomed to asking for charity; indeed, many of them are not willing to suffer the humiliation of begging a pair of shoes or the like from any committee or public bureau. At the same time, they cannot afford to buy what they need from the Black Market. A professor somewhere in Southern Italy has written us that three months' salary would be barely enough to buy him a suit of clothes at current prices.

It seems to us that, under the circumstances, it would be an act of humanity towards those who suffer in Italy, and a great consolation to their relatives in the United States, if arrangements could be made whereby clothing and other necessities could be shipped to designated persons living in the liberated regions of Italy.

We fully understand that the exigencies of war do not allow the indiscriminate shipping of packages, large or small, and we are not suggesting a return to normal postal service. We should like, however, to suggest a plan which would make but little change in the present regula-

#123

ROME and AFTER



by

G. A. BORGESE

WITH the Anglo-Americans in Rome and Victor Emmanuel out of the lime-light, it is obvious that the elements represented in the puppet Italian government of coalition are weighing their chances and drafting each one its line of possible behavior.

The first—and provisionally foremost, regardless of how numerically small its delegation of strict observance remains in the Bonomi setup—is the monarchy, embodied in the string-pulling king and his lieutenant general, with the retinue of their marshals, admirals, and high-ranking bureaucrats. Whatever was fascist and is neo-fascist in Southern Italy and Rome clings and will cling to this constellation. Common guilt and common fear hold these people together in a defense as stubborn as it is flexible. They not only can rely on political and emotional forces honeycombing the whole land, but also on the national and international support provided by big business and big landed property, and on the unflinching protection extended to them by the official policy of Britain. American policy, in matters Italian, is still a nebula, crystallizing so far—whenever the hour of decision strikes—around the British nucleus.

The King, reminded—by Churchill and other guarantors—of his solemn promise, has been faithful, once at least in his life, to the given word; but he has firmly rejected the demand for abdication and while retaining his title of King and kingly

power behind the throne filled with an understudy son, he fastens, or tries to fasten, on the Italian people the dynasty in an unbroken line of legitimate succession. Nothing has changed so far except for the worse; since the loyalty of the King to an unimportant pledge strengthens and, so to speak, moralizes Churchill's and others' loyalty to the pledge of not countenancing any further relevant step toward the dismantlement of the monarchical institution.

The second positive element in the coalition government is the clerical party, headed provisionally by Marquis Rodino and his close associates. Salvemini has demonstrated, with fair approximation, that about one-fifth of the Italian population is of militant catholics, another fifth being of militant anticatholics, while the majority of the nation is equally adverse to clerical rule and to anticatholic persecution or discrimination. The purpose of the clerical party is not only to uphold the Lateran Treaties, including the proclerical Concordat. Its purpose is also to force on Italy a minority rule making the nation into a catholic state.

Amidst the present ruins the charitable allocations of the Pope, his proclaimed aloofness from national rivalries and slaughters, his interventions in favor of the distressed and starving populace of Rome, have increased his prestige just as similar conditions did in the early phases of the papacy during the barbaric invasions. It is beyond doubt that the clerical party looks confidently toward that center of prestige and power within liberated Rome,

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A Letter From Italy

Molfetta (Italy)
February 16, 1944

To Gaetano Salvemini

The members of the Action Party in Molfetta, meeting on February 13, 1944, feel it their duty to send a message of greeting to you, Professor, who created in Italy a small but idealistic group made up of "men capable of withstanding over a long period of time the threats of their enemies, the desertion of their friends, the slander of the evil-minded and the scorn of the foolish, while remaining true to the worship of truth and the voice of duty." We are aware that Italy needs a profound renewal to heal the wounds of the past, that it must set-up and organize new political parties, and that it must solve many serious problems, among them that of the whole position of the South. For this reason we feel all the more strongly the need of attaching ourselves to the tradition (which you described, looking into your own soul, in the far-away April of 1912 in writing on the death of Francesco Papafava) "of that type of men, still rare in Italy, instinctively liberal and democratic and hence opposed to sectarianism and demagogic vulgarity, who through their independence, rectitude, and impartially exercise no great influence on our politics but who, by the example

of noble and pure lives spent in continuous effort to attain perfection and to do their duty, arouse in those so fortunate as to know them the highest aspirations and deeds." Such men, we mean, as those who gathered largely around the UNITA' movement (many of whose struggles we should now take up again) which alone stood out against Giolitti and laid day by day the foundations of true democracy, first of all by the "Socratic" method of convincing themselves of what they should do. For this reason we, your friends, strongly hope that neither circumstances of which we are ignorant, nor a point of view remote from ours will prevent you from making heard here in an Italy wounded both physically and spiritually the clear words of advice and warning which you are perhaps spreading now in far-away America. Thus you will accomplish that task of deep and concrete political education which, together with your uncompromising moral stand, is the noblest characteristic of the course of your whole life. It is this task that caused you to "dedicate with gratitude" one of your most pugnacious books, significantly subtitled "Documentation of a Policy Which Was Not Followed," to "the young friends who have come to me in these difficult years."

Berkeley, California
April 28, 1944

To Action Party
Molfetta (Bari)

Dear Friends:

Your letter of February 16th reached me here in California. I am anxious for you to know of my gratitude for your friendly message. For twenty years there was no way of communicating with each other. And yet for twenty years you kept your faith in your far-away friend even though you knew nothing of what he was doing and although the leaders and the press of the party in power mentioned his name only in calumny. This unswerving faith of yours is the greatest reward I could have hoped for in return for whatever I may have been able to do for the Italian people during these twenty years. I shall be grateful to you with all my heart for this reward as long as I live.

You wish me to return among you and

to take up my place in the fight again. If I could answer yes to your call I should not have waited until now; I should have started on my way long ago. But in December of 1940 I acquired American citizenship. I decided on this step after much thought about the duties implied in my oath of allegiance. I assumed these duties freely and with full awareness of their meaning, on account of my admiration for and agreement with the political institutions of this country, which with all their faults are the nearest to my own political and moral ideals. I am not a King. I come from a family of fishermen and peasants. Therefore for me an oath is a serious matter. I shall be true to my oath unless America gives up its democratic institutions and betrays in this way its ideals. Under these circumstances, if I were to return to Italy in order to occupy myself with political affairs as if I were still an Italian citizen, I should be doing two wrong things in one. I should be false to my oath to the country of my adoption and I should be claiming to exercise rights in the country of my origin which are no longer mine.

Action Tomorrow

ACTION THIS DAY: LETTERS FROM THE FIGHTING FRONT. By Francis J. Spellman. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY. By Francis J. Spellman. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.75.

PHILOSOPHIES AT WAR. By Fulton J. Sheen. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

FLYING with him around the world, one learns to like Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York. A native, at some refueling place of his globe-spanning itinerary—February 9 to August 1, 1943—asked him how many stories high his archbishopric was; and no matter how tall the headquarters, the diocese of New York is large and mighty indeed. Yet its supreme dignitary has preserved the simplicity of a country curate. It is refreshing to read that "leaving Khartoum, one goes up the Nile flying south, which sounds strange to us, as along our rivers we usually go 'up' flying north"—or that "it is possible to see a great deal of Turkey from the car windows because many towns are located on the railway route." The reader who felt outraged by Monsignor Spellman's tribute to the Escorial of Philip II, the Inquisitor King—and gave public vent to his ire, heckling: "Better a pigsty!"—would have felt more relaxed if he had noticed how impartial is the elation of the winged prelate at whatever looms oversize and gorgeous. A priest of Baal, the man-eating god, he certainly is not; yet, no less than by the Escorial, he was overawed by the colossal ruins of Baalbeck—not to speak of the chandelier Queen Victoria presented to the Sultan, so huge that it could not be stood anywhere except in the custom-made palace that was erected as its container.

But the reader would also be wrong who thought that the charm of this diary lies only in its frequent attunement to states of mind whose classical models we recall from "Innocents Abroad." There is more than that. While preening himself with lovely candor on his proficiency in geography—or even in that auxiliary hobby, stamp collecting—the apostolic pilgrim keeps a truly open eye on all the shapes and colors of this attractive planet; and together with the poetic thrill goes the throb of a heart where all the griefs and trials of the human race are sure to stir an echo of mercy. There are, off and on, quick but memorable snapshots of his meetings with patient missionaries, with heroic nuns, in hospitals, in leproseries, in scorched wastelands. And, above all, there are those paragraphs, as unassuming as they are impressive, in which he records how he felt when, a newly ordained young priest, he offered his first mass in Rome—how he feels now, an aging hierarch, as he offers mass in the other holy site, Jerusalem. No reader, be he a stony agnostic or an impenitent heretic, will remain untouched by the genuineness and contagion of that fervor.

Spellman's temper is, to speak in popular terms, of the

"Franciscan" type. He knows it; indulging in occasional self-praise, he mentions his own "traditional meekness." In sharp contrast to it stands the mood of the other monsignor, Fulton J. Sheen, a "Dominican" character—if the word, as folklore has it, meant "hound of God, *domini canis*." The aggressiveness of his proselyting zeal is manifest from the very front cover of a book which, however thin, wears no humbler a title than "Philosophies at War." His confidence in his own wisdom and science is uncompromising; his ardent hurry stops at nothing. It does not matter to him whether, when accusing Herder of racial prejudice, he had in mind Hegel (we guess) or some other infidel assonance; to correct the spelling of Treitschke ("Treitszcke," on the same page—maybe a crossbreed with Nietzsche) is to quibble, since no tough armor of consonants will make that worthy hellfire-proof anyway; Hume, Kant, and Voltaire, "corrosive men," find themselves in the same boat, to their mutual surprise; the French Revolution doubts, in Pirandello style, its own identity when court-martialed for the crime of having "isolated man from responsibility to a political community or the state." But doubt has no shadow to cast over Sheen's unrelenting pages; for does he not know, does he not notify the reader, that "we [Sheen] look at the war through the eyes of God"? Does he not add, as a seal to so remarkable an affidavit, that "our [Sheen's] approach is from the divine point of view"? The reader is speechless.

Only on one occasion would the reader like to stop the author for a moment and have his say; and this is apropos of a short story in which God is inescapably on the spot. "Some time ago a Nazi soldier in occupied France took his French wife into a hospital. Seeing a crucifix on the wall, he ordered the nun to take it down. She refused! He ordered her again saying that he did not want his child ever to look upon the image of a crucified Jew. The nun took it down under threats. The father's wish was fulfilled to the letter. The child was born—blind." Reacting to so cruel a passage, the reader—who, like the devil, can quote Scripture—wonders whether the author is not behind the times, not only our own and those to come, but the times of the ancient Ezekiel, through whose encouraging lips the Lord waived the right to be a Sheen-like God, and pledged that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father." Christ, we had been told, came as a healer to restore the eyesight of the sinner, not to blind his little children.

Yet even so strange a book has plausible pages. Those on the decay of the family are dictated by earnest passion—even though the thesis that a chief cause for this war lay in that decay is untenable if in Italy, motherland of Fascism and of Fascist aggression, the family institution was on the whole as firm as Monsignor Sheen and Monsignor Spellman might desire, with birth control banned by both church and state, and divorce forbidden, except when conceded under the name of annulment by the papal Curia to a few unhappy but wealthy pairs. The chapter on The Need of an Absolute is, in general, sensible. To be sure, it is difficult

Reviving a Corpse in Italy

IN HIS ADDRESS to the House of Commons on February 22, Mr. Churchill let the cat out of the bag when he stated that he did not know whether another, more broadly based, Italian government would be as helpful to the Allies as the present one. Perhaps he meant that it might be a government which would try to make its position good with the Italian people by resisting, as much as it dared, the demands made on them in the interests of the Allied armies.

If one needs an interpretation of Mr. Churchill's statement, one may find it in a dispatch from London to The Chicago Daily News by Helen Kirkpatrick. By "well informed but unofficial circles," which as a rule are civil servants entrusted with the task of furnishing newsmen with semi-official "handouts," she was told that

we must continue to deal with our former enemies—particularly those who, *because of their connection with fascism, are not very popular with the bulk of the population*—in order to make certain that stiff armistice terms will be observed. Marshal Badoglio signed both the original armistice and the second long-range one, and so long as he is in office there can be no evading its terms. The second and long-range armistice terms never have been published owing to a request from Badoglio. If they were, he claims, he would be hounded from office tomorrow by the Italian people. If non-Fascists, like Count Carlo Sforza and others, whose records are unimpeachable, were in office, they would ask for things which we might not be prepared to grant. *What we need is to find men "with the same Fascist background who cannot ask favors of us because they have not been our ideological friends;"* (Italics mine.)

In plain words, no other man in Italy could be as "helpful"—that is, as servile—as Badoglio, who has forfeited his prestige and therefore is in no position ever to disobey Anglo-Saxon orders. By merely threatening him with their disfavor, his masters will always be in a position to squeeze from him anything they may deem expedient.

This would all be very well if 45,000,000 Italians were horses or motor cars and not men. As a matter of fact, they are men. Everybody in Italy realizes that the King and Badoglio have become Anglo-Saxon rubber-stamps in southern Italy, just as Mussolini has become a German rubber-stamp in northern Italy. The Anglo-Saxon protectorate has added new reasons for hatred and contempt to those which already existed.

Until the end of March it seemed that the Allied political and military leaders were hoping to induce the King and his son to abdicate so that a regency could be established under Badoglio on behalf of the grandson of the present King, a seven-year-old boy. The Italians would then have been expected to hold their peace

for a dozen years. When the boy became of age, they would know whether he had inherited the overflowing intelligence of his father, the present Crown Prince, and the heroic will power and moral integrity of his grandfather, the present King.

But during the last few weeks a new development has come about. The leader of the Italian Stalinists rushed from Moscow to Naples, via Algiers, where he could get the blessing of the Anglo-American authorities, and as soon as he arrived in Naples he instructed his comrades to give up demanding the abdication of the King or his son. Now it is arranged that the King will remain where he is until the Allied armies enter the city of Rome. At this time he will take something like a leave of absence, and his son will act as his deputy. This has cleared the way for a "democratic" set-up, that is, a certain number of anti-Fascist politicians have joined the Badoglio government.

I was brought up in Italy and lived there until I was 52 years old. I have devoted 50 years of my life to Italian history. Since I left Italy in 1925 I have done all I possibly could to keep informed on conditions there. I think, therefore, that my opinions on Italy may have a greater chance of proving correct than those of British and American "career boys" who went to Italy knowing nothing about the country, and have left knowing only cocktails, beach parties and perhaps one or two bedrooms of Roman nobility. On the other hand, I have become an American citizen, and as such I could not aspire to any role in post-Fascist Italy, even if my age did not tell me that I have to think of something more serious than political ambitions. I am entitled; therefore, to state that in dealing with the Italian problem I am not prompted by any personal prepossessions. I feel duty-bound to warn my American fellow citizens against the moral disaster we are courting.

Let us make no mistake. The Badoglio regime, with or without the King, with or without his son, with or without a regency, with or without Stalin's blessing, is a moral corpse that cannot be revived.

As long as the Allied armies are in southern Italy it will be possible to manipulate there more or less artificial contrivances, with or without the help of Comrade Stalin. But southern Italy is economically, socially and politically the least developed part of the peninsula; the heart and brains of Italy are in the north. The farther the Allied armies proceed toward the north, the greater difficulties they will have to confront. In northern Italy the bulk of the population has become Republican, and even more strongly than in southern Italy all patriots demand that the King get out of the way and that he and his stupid and dissolute and no



ITALY TODAY

*A Series of Articles on
Current Events*

X-DG 572 June 12th, 1945.

Because of her location with forty-five million people in the strategic Mediterranean area and because of her past and potentially great role in the advancement of human progress, democratic Italy is a country of vital world import.

The United States, above all other nations, should be most interested in the development of a vigorous democratic way of life in Italy. Our cultural, economic and physical bonds with the Italian people are many, varied and valuable. More than six million of our population are of Italian descent. Eleven out of every hundred Americans in military service are of Italian origin. Over six million Italians reside in Latin-America.

In the difficult termin of Italy, our own army under General Clark and the hundreds of thousands of Italian Patriots and regulars have shared in the common dangers and victory over the Nazi hordes. Here there were forged new links of friendship and solidarity between the American and Italian peoples -- links that will never be broken or forgotten.

Of all the nations, America is most eminently fitted morally and most adequately equipped materially to help the Italian people help themselves in their present tragic plight. We have no demands to make on democratic Italy. We seek no special privileges or spheres of influence in the new Italy. Our hands are clean. The Italian people have high regard for us. They trust our motives. They have placed their highest hopes and faith in us.

Under these circumstances, the United States should lose no time in taking the diplomatic and economic initiative in assuring justice to the reviving democracy of Italy. In this spirit and for this purpose, we herewith suggest that our government should take the following steps:

1. The Italian people have done everything within their power to hasten our triumph over the German enemy and to secure their own liberation from the Nazi-Fascist yoke. They have displayed real capacity for self-government and democratic administration in spite of more than two decades of Fascist misrule and terror. The international moral and political status of democratic Italy must be basically changed. The new Italy should be granted membership in the United Nations and immediate representation at the San Francisco Conference.

2. The present Armistice terms are entirely out of date and utterly unjust. In spirit and substance, these terms were originally conceived and planned for the purpose of suppressing Fascist control and Nazi domination of Italy. But the Italian people themselves have completely extirpated the Fascist regime and dealt heavy and telling blows for the destruction of German military prowess -- no less than for their own liberation. Today, the people of Italy should, therefore, be trusted and treated as a liberated ally and friend and not as a hostile conquered country. The present Armistice should forthwith be abolished and a just treaty of peace be signed with the new, the democratic, Italy.

3. The Italian people are eager and able to help us hasten our day of triumph in the Pacific. When we appealed to them to overthrow Mussolini, break with the Axis, and join our side, they answered courageously and capably. Their fleet can now render yeoman service to the cause of freedom in the Orient. Let us appeal to the Italian people to enter the battle against Japan. They will again answer our call enthusiastically and effectively.

4. Our country has conceived the Four Freedoms and fathered the Atlantic Charter. Italy is the crucible of our international policies based on these lofty ideals. America should now reaffirm her insistence on the preservation of the national integrity of Italy and on the vigorous application of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms to rearmament Italian democracy.

5. The restoration of private enterprise and the revival of the great co-operative movement in Italy would go a long way towards insuring the return of prosperity in large sections of southern and central Europe. For the sake of enlightened self-interest as well as for humanitarian reasons and sound international policy, the United States should provide the new Italy with the credit and raw materials urgently needed by her industries and rural economy in rebuilding her normal life and stabilizing her social and political relations on a solid genuinely democratic foundation.

6. Our Army has done splendid work in rendering assistance to the hungry and ailing in war-battered Italy. This army relief effort should be continued and be supplemented by UNRRA.

7. Thousands of Italian former prisoners of war have proved of invaluable help to our country when our manpower problem was most acute. Today, we no longer

A New Risorgimento

#129

(Reprinted from "The Economist" of London of June 5, 1945)

The unconditional surrender of the German South West Command has given the Allies complete control in Northern Italy and in large areas of Austria. The surrender crowns a long and arduous campaign, and it is appropriate that Field Marshal Alexander and the men fighting under him should end so sensationally a struggle which has not always commanded its share of public attention. It would, however, be unfortunate if the speed of the final collapse were to mask the hard fighting that preceded it. In particular, it should not be forgotten that the prime factor in the freeing of Northern Italy was not the German surrender but the successful using of the partisans. Long before the Germans ceased fighting and long before the Allied armies reached the great cities—Milan, Turin, Genoa, Piacenza—the partisan armies and their political leaders were in full control.

In spite of the crowds who hissed and booed round the exposed bodies of Mussolini, his mistress and his party bosses, discipline, not anarchy and violence, is the most striking feature of the movement of liberation. Field-Marshal Alexander and General Clark have both praised the partisans for the skill and efficiency with which they followed the instructions of the General Staff and worked out their own tactical plans. In almost every town in the North they managed to prevent the destruction of power stations, reservoirs, public utilities and railways. In the factories, they knew exactly when to strike and did so in the most effective way of occupying, not deserting, the factories. In each community, a Committee of Liberation was already in being, ready to take over the civil administration until the arrival of the Allied armies.

The Central National Committee of Liberation for North Italy is based on a coalition of the principal political parties. It appears at present to include two Communists, two members of the Action Party, two Christian Democrats, two members of the Italian Liberation Party and two Socialists. It is impossible to say what is the balance of power between the different groups. The three strongest are undoubtedly the Communists, whose numbers have grown very considerably in recent months, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats. They are all of them committed to radical reforms in Italian society—a large measure of socialisation and the establishment of a Republic. Their prestige as the liberators and rulers of the richest, most populous and most highly developed areas in Italy will enormously reinforce the power of their parties throughout the country. The Bonomi Government has already agreed that the National Liberation Committees of Rome and of the North shall meet and there is talk of summoning a conference of all the provincial committees. The Com-

mittees will undoubtedly demand a reshuffle of the Government with an active resister as Prime Minister.

The question mark over Italy's future is whether this new government, representing a strong coalition of the Left, can guide the Italian people towards the free and progressive society which a great mass of them undoubtedly desire. As a result of liberation, there have been "spring-times of the people" in other countries, particularly in France. But in each case the ensuing months have seen the weakening and disillusionment of the popular forces and the resurgence of old, compromised groups and interests. In Italy, there is perhaps a greater chance of successful political evolution. The resistance movement is not a heterogeneous medley of groups united by loyalty to one man. The parties which compose it have proved themselves capable of mass action on a scale achieved nowhere else—only in Northern Italy have strikes been used effectively as a weapon of resistance. They appear to be united on the major issues of national reconstruction. On the vexed question of public ownership, the fact that Mussolini's Fascist Republic nationalized the whole industrial system in North Italy may make the achievement of public control elsewhere and its maintenance in the North less difficult. Above all, the Liberation Movement, thanks to its great part in the actual fighting, must now enjoy that supremely important political asset—self-confidence.

It would, however, be very misleading to underestimate the potential opposition. The Fascists are defeated but not wiped out. It is not so long ago that the escape of General Roatta deeply disturbed the people of Rome by the evidence it gave of a quite widespread Fascist underground movement. The Monarchists are far more active and vocal in Southern and Central Italy than they were a year ago. Industry is predominantly in private hands and there are reports in the Swiss press of the close contact maintained by such industrial leaders as Count Volpi with British circles in Switzerland. The basis for the usual coalition of frightened and compromised people exists in Italy as in any other liberated country. Accusations and disputes among the progressive parties may yet undo the first enthusiasm of freedom and sap the political initiative and drive necessary to carry through a really radical programme.

It is too early to forecast the strength of the opposing groups. But it is not too soon to see clearly how influential must be the policy of the Allies in Italy. It is entirely in their interests that a radical and democratic Italy should emerge from this war. The voice of the people in North Italy is raised today in favour of peaceful relations with their neighbours, and of union between the states

PARTISANS, GO HOME!

When General Alexander believed that the offensive in Italy could have eliminated the Germans from the peninsula, he urged the Italian partisans to go into action in every way and with every means.

The offensive in Italy has come to a standstill. A part of the forces that were fighting have been deviated to the Rhenishland. Italy has been left destroyed by troops that advance slowly or do not advance at all, and by other that slowly retreat, or do not retreat at all. It is not General Alexander's fault if he does not have at his disposal such a superiority of means to put the enemy on the run, as was possible at Cassino last May.

Because of this situation, General Alexander has ordered the partisans of Northern Italy to cease fire and return home. Placing himself from the viewpoint of the professional soldier he believes that the case of the partisans movement is the same of that of a regular army: the bugles are blown and fire ceases.

The reality is that the partisans cannot return home as a regular regiment returns to the barracks. If they should return home, they would be captured and sent to the other world by the fascists and nazis. They have to remain where they are. They have to continue fighting as best as they can.

To remain where they are means remaining in the snow. And to continue fighting means having arms, ammunitions, and food.

By exhorting them to return home, did General Alexander mean to say that, after having used them for months past, he does not intend to bother with them any longer, and sends them to the devil without compliments and without scruples?

During the months when a rapid victory in Italy was hoped for, the partisans were supplied with arms and ammunition — not much — which allied airplanes dropped from above. Together with the arms and ammunition officers of the royal army were dropped. They had been

painstakingly picked up for their fidelity to the king, and placed themselves at the head of the guerrillas: they fought for the moment against the fascist and nazis while waiting to fight against their allies of today in the service of their king. The partisans accepted their help and reserved the rest for the future.

And now what? Now those men shall be left abandoned, betrayed, destroyed either by the fascists and nazis if they return home, or by hunger and cold if they remain in the open country.

The destiny of those poor, heroic people should be dear to the hearts of the Bonomis, the Sforzas, the Togliattis: what are these gentlemen doing in the Government if they do not obtain at least the necessary aid for those forgotten men?

But perhaps Bonomi believes — in agreement with Churchill — that the more partisans are killed or die of hunger and cold, the less difficult will be for the Royal House the "plebiscite"?

The preceding words were being written when the *New York Times* of November 23 brought us the cry of pain and desperation of a man who had fought with the partisans, — Captain Sighieri. Speaking to the correspondent, Sighieri said: "that he was frightened by the atmosphere which he found in Rome, where no one showed that he recognized the problem of the Partisans or that he wanted to do anything for it." "The partisans do not even get the necessary clothing, food and ammunition. They go about in rags and without shoes, and many still in summer clothing. The percentage in rheumatism, bronchitis, and pleuritis is from 60 to 70 in the units known to him."

The brave Sighieri has not yet understood that clothing, food, ammunitions and shoes have to go to the king's generals, who are reorganizing the king's army and who, in the streets of Palermo, far from the front, must kill twenty-nine people and wound five hundred fifty.

A MAYOR FOR NAPLES

A mayor for Naples has been expected for the past two months and is being obstinately blocked by a British colonel. The story is so strange and amusing that it seems worthwhile to recapitulate the happenings.

After the resignation of professor Ingresso, who was called to Rome to head the Court of Accounts, the Allied Authorities asked the Neapolitan Committee of National Liberation to submit the name of a man who enjoyed the confidence of the political parties and who could act as mayor in these difficult times. After long discussions and after examining the qualifications of various candidates, the Committee of National Liberation offered the name of Professor Giovanni Lombardi, a former Socialist deputy and professor of law at the University of Naples.

Professor Lombardi was asked to appear before an Allied Military Commission and was subjected to some kind of examination. We do not know the questions asked. The fact is that Professor Lombardi failed; possibly because he was too old, too fat, or maybe too red.

Two weeks of deep silence followed. Then suddenly, like a bolt out of the blue, came the announcement that Colonel Simpson (some kind of representative of the Allied Commission) had decided to appoint as mayor of Naples a lawyer without party affiliations, recommended by heaven knows who. The C.N.L. was never informed of this decision but why worry and inconvenience its gentlemen if there are persons close at hand who can give disinterested advice and produce a ready-made mayor who has the additional advantage of being without a party?

The C.N.L. informed the provincial commissioner that they did not agree with the choice made by the Allied Commission and that they would not collaborate with the new mayor in the formation of a municipal junta.

Colonel Simpson answered the C.N.L.'s decision by summoning, not the Committee, but the provincial leaders of the six political parties, and he announced his decision to appoint the "lawyer without a party" as the new mayor of Naples.

In the course of the lively discussion which followed, Simpson made some declarations of questionable taste and of doubtful necessity which were recorded by shorthand. He said for instance that the Italians do not know how to make proper use of their newly won liberty. Another declaration not less serious was that the Neapolitans are incapable of self-government and must therefore be

guided 'like children' by the Allied Military Government.

Under such conditions and in such an atmosphere it was impossible to arrive at an immediate agreement and the meeting was adjourned.

The six political parties were then charged with the task of submitting the name of another candidate at the earliest possible date.

The following Monday the C.N.L. informed Colonel Simpson that an agreement had been reached to submit the name of Mario Palermo, present Undersecretary of War, for Allied approval. Colonel Simpson rejected the proposal because he "could not take the responsibility of weakening the Italian government by urging the resignation of the Undersecretary of War." Two days later the Allied Commission announced the appointment of a Commissioner, by the name of Fucci. Fucci, chief auditor of the prefecture of Naples, is well remembered for his Fascist past.

One week after Fucci's appointment Mario Palermo arrived in Naples on a government mission and met Colonel Simpson who, after expressing his pleasure of meeting him and showering him with compliments, said: "I would need a man just like yourself to be the mayor of Naples. If you could get me the assurance of Premier Bonomi that your resignation as under-secretary of war would in no way embarrass the government, you will be the mayor of Naples in one week's time."

The following day the prefect, at Simpson's request, appointed 3 or 4 illustrious nobodies as sub-commissioners and thus made Fucci's nomination definitive. The Naples population was faced with a permanent situation, and its illusion about the temporary character of the appointment was shortlived.

This story is in reality much more complicated than I am willing to report at this moment. For instance, there exists another story of a newspaper editor who in the presence of the police commissioner and of the man in charge of the political squad, was blamed by Colonel Simpson for publishing the text of the conversation which had taken place between Farmariello, president of the Naples C.N.L., and Colonel Simpson.

Anyhow it is a fact that the Allied authorities ignored the opinion of the C.N.L. and tried to impose on Naples a mayor whom Naples does not want, and then appointed a Fascist official as city commissioner.

Even where the Allies enjoy unlimited authority they should act in cordial cooperation with the C.N.L. regardless of whether the C.N.L. pleases or displeases some reaction-

A Lecture Tour

During these last few months, as a result of my articles on Vatican policies in Italy, I received many letters in prose and verse, signed and anonymous, of blame from Catholics and encouragement from Protestants and Liberals. Some of the anonymous letters came not only from people who took pleasure in vituperating me but also from people who agreed with me. Why were the latter afraid of giving their names?

One of my correspondents wrote as follows:

October 30, 1943
I can cite you several cases. A teacher of history once was asked a question to trap him. "Can a non-Catholic or a non-believer lead a moral life?" The teacher, I Catholic, answered truthfully, "Yes." The pupil told his father, the father told his priest, the priest denounced the teacher in the parish paper, and a superintendent came from headquarters to make an investigation. The teacher was given an unofficial reprimand. This not in a parochial school, mind you, but in a public school. The teacher, not wanting trouble, asked for a non-controversial subject, so the teaching of history falls to cowards and liars. The Spanish Civil war was one case when our teachers were terrorized into silence lest they lose their jobs, especially substitutes without tenure who could be dropped without any reason. Unless you are employed by Harvard College with its century old tradition of freedom I don't know whether you really can teach without being attacked as a propagandist.

I asked my correspondent whether he would give me permission to publish his letter. Here is his answer:

Of course you may publish my letter anywhere you may wish with however just some excisions, minor ones. Just enough so that the writer may not be identified. My instruction which is "satisfactory" can be found "unsatisfactory" and I could not bring into court the bias of the examiner or the hidden zeal for improvement. It is always easy to "get" a victim as we say without avowing the real reason. So publish but eliminate what may identify me too closely. Not that I would not stick to my utterances if I were faced with a demand for proof. I'd give it but I am afraid not of official action but undercover reprisal.

Such feelings of fear did not exist in Italy before Fascism entrenched itself there. I used to think that it was typical of totalitarian regimes. How is it possible to foster such a feeling in a free country? I began to find some answer to this question during a tour of lectures I made last February.

On the evening of February 8, I gave a lecture in Haverford, Pennsylvania, on religious conditions in Italy. Whoever has read my article, "Is Italy a Catholic Country?", in *The Protestant*, August-September, 1943, has before him most of the facts I gave during that lecture. My conclusion was to the effect that our AMG officials could make no greater mistake than to meddle in Italian religious affairs. Americans and Britishers are in Italy, not as Protestants, Roman Catholics or Jews. The less they interfere with the customs of the local population the better. Where the parish priest and the bishop are respected and loved, there is no reason why they should not be trusted as advisers and

helpers. Where they have consorted with the Fascists they should be left aside. As a rule one can ignore the clergy in the cities of both Northern and Southern Italy where it has lost most of its traditional influence, but in the countryside of many sections of Northern Italy, it will be advisable to make friends with them though with discretion. The problem has to be solved case by case.

At the end of the question a priest asked me how I would define Fascism.

A. — "Fascism" is a form of government under which one single party is allowed to exist and the leader of that party wields despotic powers over the whole population.

Q. — Is there any difference between Fascism and Communism?

A. — The political constitution of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia are analogous owing to the fact that Soviet Russia admits the existence of but one single party and endows with despotic powers the leader of that party. But the economic structure of Soviet Russia differs from those of Italy and Germany and this difference has to be taken into consideration when comparisons are made.

Q. — What kind of evidence can you give for your statement that Cavour at his death bed was confessed and absolved by Father Giacomo, that Father Giacomo was summoned to Rome and that he told Pope Pius IX that he had acted according to his own conscience and refused to recant? (This fact was given by me on page 54 of *The Protestant*, August-September, 1943.

A. — Those facts are substantiated by plenty of contemporary evidence and are known to anyone who has the least information about the history of the Italian Risorgimento.

Q. — Thus you cannot give any evidence for your statement?

A. — What do you mean by evidence? I cannot revive Cavour, Father Giacomo and Pius IX and bring them into this hall to act as first hand witnesses. Nor can I go around with a carload of books and documents to substantiate any statement of mine which is challenged by anyone who asks trap-questions. But as an historian and a teacher of history I take full scientific and moral responsibility for my statement.

Q. — Thus you cannot give any evidence for your statement? Your statement is false. Cavour was a thief who had stolen properties of the Church. No priest could ever absolve him. Your statements from the first to the last were given without proofs. I do not know whether you know Latin. I will tell you first in Latin and then in English. *Quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*. What is asserted without proof can be denied without proof. I deny all your statements from the first to the last without exception.

From Moscow to Naples

-DG 372

3 133

by

Gaetano Salvemini

The Moscow Declaration

On October 28, Robert D. Murphy, American Minister in North Africa, and Harold Macmillan, the British Minister, arrived in Naples to confer with Badoglio and prominent Italians about the future of Italy. The Italians declared that the King and his son must abdicate. Mr. Murphy and Mr. Macmillan returned to Algiers to report to their governments.

Then on November 1st the Moscow Conference between the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia issued a declaration to the effect that the "Allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influences and emanations shall be utterly destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles." As if such a statement had not been clear enough, we were enabled to read as follows:

- "1. It is essential that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by the introduction of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism.
2. Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and of public meetings shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups.
3. All institutions and organizations created by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed.
4. All Fascist or pro-Fascist elements shall be removed from administrations and from institutions and organizations of a public character.
5. All political prisoners of the Fascist regime shall be released and accorded a full amnesty.
6. Democratic organs of local government shall be created.
7. Fascist chiefs and Army generals known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice."

As if even these words had not been sufficient there was an appendix to assuage our desires, which said: "It is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of Government." What more could one have expected?

Yet we should have learned a long while ago that words have lost their meaning not only in London and Washington, but also in Moscow. We should have noticed that the Moscow Declaration had told us that the Foreign Secretaries of the United States and United Kingdom had declared that "the action of their governments from inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy." It was obvious that the two highly placed personages who had indulged in such a peculiar statement, had been making fun of the world and his wife.

The King's First Two Rounds

On November 3, two days after the issuing of the "historical" Moscow Declaration, the correspondent of the *New York Times* from Naples announced that "at present as long as the Allied Military Mission sits at the King's side, he's immune".

On the same day the King paid an unexpected, but to be sure, not unprepared visit to Naples. The *New York Herald Tribune*, November 5, described the "ovation" which he had received on his tour through the streets. In a city of 800,000 people it was not difficult to gather together two or three hundred plainclothes policemen to cheer the August Personage lustily while protecting him from less enthusiastic and more spontaneous demonstrations. But perhaps, on second thought, the King's reception was not quite as enthusiastic as the first report indicated. By November 10 the *Herald Tribune* correspondent wrote that the King had been pleased "by the lack of any hostile demonstration during his three-day visit to Naples." Whatever the truth, the Associated Press reported after the visit that "through his trip to Naples King Victor Emmanuel III apparently won the first round of his fight to retain his throne—at least temporarily."

Then on November 9 we were regaled with the news that the units of anti-Fascist volunteers, which were organizing in the Naples area for the purpose of fighting against the Germans, had been disbanded, and that the men would be drafted into the regular Italian army under Antonio Basso, "one of the King's generals."

On November 10, the Associated Press made it clear that the Allied Control Mission "would effectively prevent any group under or outside the Italian government from attempting to use troops to gain or retain power within the country." Thus an official acknowledgement was made of the King's monopoly over Italian fighting forces. This was the second round won by the King. The war against Hitler in Italy seems to have become a business to be privately transacted between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt on the one hand and the King and Badoglio on the other. The lives of American boys in Italy are to be saved not by volunteers who want to fight and who may have some conception of the true nature of the struggle against fascism. They are to be saved by soulless bureaucrats of the old royal army, who have demonstrated their capacity in the present war. To help Badoglio in the task of rebuilding the King's army, several Italian generals whom the Allies had taken prisoners in Africa, are being dispatched to Italy. Other Italian officers may be released from time to time after an investigation has been

What Is Sforza Doing In Italy?



(Interview given by Gaetano Salvemini to the San Francisco Chronicle).

—When he left the United States for Italy, last October, Count Sforza was prepared to co-operate with Badoglio but not with the King. In Italy he stated that the King should get out of the way but that he was ready to serve under a Regency established on behalf of the seven year old grandson of the present King. Sforza's plans miscarried. The King clung to his throne as a drowning man clings to a straw and Badoglio clung to the King. On the other hand nobody in Italy was willing to co-operate with Badoglio or to swallow a Regency. All antifascists in Italy during the last four years and especially during the last eight months have become republican. Royalty in Italy is a corpse. To be sure no Italian demands that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt proclaim a republic. The task of the Allied armies is not establishing republics or staving decayed royalties in Europe, but winning the war, keeping public peace in occupied territories and giving "liberated" peoples a chance to reorganize themselves according to their own aspirations. All antifascists in Italy demand that at the end of the war a Constituent Assembly freely elected by the people decide whether to proclaim a republic or keep royalty. Meanwhile the authority of the crown should be suspended. This is why the representatives of all the Italian antifascist groups gathered in Bari at the end of last January resolved to demand the immediate abdication of the King, the establishment of a Provisional Government (and not a Regency) and a Constituent Assembly to be convened at the end of the war. The British and the American Governments retorted by reestablishing the sovereignty of the crown in Sicily where it had been "suspended" last July. Moreover Mr.

Churchill speaking in the House of Commons on February 22nd stated that the Allied Powers intended to support the King and Badoglio unless a more suitable group of men became available. He will never find more suitable, that is more servile men, than the King and Badoglio.

—What will Count Sforza do now?

—I am not in Count Sforza's shoes and I am not a soothsayer. I hope for the good of all, America, Britain and Italy, he has realized that he can no longer run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, that joining hands with Badoglio within or without a regency, would mean committing moral political suicide, and that no cooperation is possible with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt as long as their Italian policies remain unchanged.

—Have you forgotten that Italy has lost the war?

—Yes, Italy has lost the war. But those Italians who are not responsible for the present war and stubbornly opposed Fascism at a time when Mr. Churchill was an admirer of Mussolini and the Fascist Regime, are not duty bound to co-operate with that same King and that same Badoglio who were responsible for the present war and the present disasters.

—What will the Italian Liberals do?

—As far as I can guess from here, those among the Italians who are liberals in dead earnest and not for fun, will wait till the end of the war, when the terrible material and moral consequences of the present situation have become apparent and the king and Badoglio have reached the lowest ebb of shame. The Anglo-American armed occupation in Italy will not be eternal. And peoples do not die. When the Italians are left alone the hour of reckoning will strike for the King and his Badoglios. The passage from monarchial-fascist to the repub-

lican democratic regime might have taken place through a peaceful process. It will take place through a revolution.

—Yet shouldn't the Italians help the American and the British armies in their fight against the Germans?

—They should. But Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt intend to fight in Italy two different wars, one against the Nazis and the other against the Italian republic. They cannot expect the Italian republicans to go hand in hand with them. They cannot eat their cake and have it too. Mussolini has established a republic in Northern Italy. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have re-established royalty in Southern Italy. Have the Italian republicans to fight in order that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt re-establish royalty in Northern Italy? If Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt think that the King and Badoglio can give the military help they need, they have to be content with them and not to ask the Italian republicans to dishonor themselves by putting themselves at their services. On the day they need the help of the Italian liberals—and the day may come—they will have to pay the price.

—What price?

—They have not only to drop royalty but also to agree to a change in the ruinous and dishonorable terms of the Armistice signed by the King and Badoglio. As long as the King and Badoglio are there and the terms of the Armistice remain unaltered any Italian who acted as an Anglo-Saxon Quisling would commit moral and political suicide. If America and Britain need friends in Italy, this is one thing. If they need slaves, this is another thing. They cannot get at one and the same time friends and slaves.

It is high time for our military and political leaders to decide whether to act as sensible grown up men or capricious and incoherent children.

Churchill and Italy

By LUIGI STURZO



Unfortunately Churchill has never understood and does not now understand Italy. A man of his caliber should never have said what he said in Florence in 1927: "If I were an Italian I should be a Fascist," and in 1940, when Italy entered the war: "One man and one man alone, against the Crown and Royal family of Italy." But he has continued this series of mistaken attitudes right up to today when he seeks to justify his support of the Italian monarchy and the Badoglio government.

There we are: Churchill is the man who saved England in the dark days of 1940, thus saving Europe from Nazi-Fascist domination, who somehow has come to an understanding of Stalin and, let us hope, an understanding of de Gaulle. He has no time for Italy, which indeed seems to be of minor importance to him. He seems to be paying more attention to the House of Savoy, as a bulwark of the remaining European monarchies, than to the Italian nation.

Of course we must make allowance for the traditions of Churchill's caste. He is not capable of understanding the barricades of Paris, the revolt at Palermo on January 12, 1848, which was previously voted for this date by the parliament, or the "Five Days" of Milan. At the most he can understand a peaceful parliamentary revolution or a silent demonstration of workers parading in the streets of London with placards as mute witnesses to their demands. Such is the British tradition.

The fall of Mussolini, which took Churchill by surprise, caused him to fear open revolt in the streets; the best preventives were the King and Badoglio, but for further insurance against this disaster he used the air bombardments of the centers of Genoa, Milan and Turin, where there were no military objectives but where the Italian people were "thronging into the market-places" (scendere in piazza) in the traditional manner of the Risorgimento.

Churchill's men discreetly questioned the Italian generals and admirals as to whether their loyalty to the present King and his government would be shaken by the institution of a regency or of a provisory popular government. Every self-respecting general and admiral felt obliged to answer that he would keep his oath of loyalty to the royal family and the present King.

The Italian military tradition is monarchical and non-political (except for a certain Fascist infiltration of recent years); the military have never staged a coup d'état (pronunciamento) of the Spanish or Central and South American type. Italian officers have been always loyal to their country and its flag; for this reason the creation of a military monarchist movement to offset the democratic tendencies of the Italian people would be an error and offence against Italy and the whole of Europe.

The pledge made by the "big three" at Moscow must be carried out in full. The Italian people alone have the right to decide upon their own form of government. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin are bound not only by the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow declarations, but by the necessities of war and peace as well.

Churchill's argument that the present government of Italy signed the armistice and has aided the Allied war effort is worthless. Only a popular government can actively engage itself in the pursuit of the war and its first task would be to increase Italian aid to the Allies to defeat the Nazis and Fascists. Any other line of action would be that of a traitor.

Let Churchill loog for traitors among the Fascists of yesterday and the pro-Fascists of today in Italy, and let him look a little more closely at the past of Victor Emmanuel and consider whether he is worthy of the confidence placed in him.

Churchill might remember a now almost forgotten episode of the past which had a great influence on the destiny of England and the rest of

the world. It was the time when English opinion was up in arms against "the Hoare-Laval plan"; the public was demanding the serious application of sanctions against Italy and the defense of Abyssinia. Leopold of Belgium (the brother of Maria José, wife of Prince Humbert) came to London, was received at court and held conversation with the King of England and Prime Minister Baldwin (the man of "the sealed lips"). The purpose of these conversations was the same as the purpose pursued by Churchill today — the salvation of the Savoy monarchy. If Mussolini had lost the war against Abyssinia he would have fallen and dragged the House of Savoy down with him, but if Mussolini won the House of Savoy would be saved. Win he did; Baldwin must bear responsibility for this second World War.

Churchill will go down in history as the man of the victory over Nazism. His name will be as glorious or more glorious than that of Lloyd George in the previous War. My one wish (and I do not make it merely on account of present circumstances or his treatment of the Italian problem, I had written this a year ago) is that Churchill may not be a leader in peace as he has been in war. Just as Lloyd George he will fail in the task of making a just and lasting peace. It is to the advantage of England itself as well as the rest of the world that Churchill be replaced by a man of greater vision and of wider understanding of the world, especially of that part of it which is not British.

I fear that Morrison, Bevan and the other Labor Party leader are as unprepared to cope with the situation as were MacDonald, Henderson and Snowden in the period immediately after the last war. But may they at least hold up a generous ideal to those people which have already suffered so much and have still to reconstruct their countries, without blocking their way with dynastic and militaristic questions proper to an age that has passed away.

The King, the Army and the Pope in Italy

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I.

Walter Lippmann is one of the most influential leaders of public opinion in this country. Therefore one should not underestimate the importance of his comments in the New York Herald Tribune of November 21.

According to Mr. Lippmann, "When Mussolini and his henchmen are disposed of, there will still remain in Italy the vestiges of legitimate and historic authority by means of which the transition to the New Italy can be made. For if there is not, it will be difficult in the chaos of Italian defeat to find Italian authority able to speak for Italy."

What is a "legitimate and historic authority?"

More than a century ago, in the days of Prince Metternich, the word "legitimate" had a clear-cut meaning. A political regime was legitimate if there was behind it an historical tradition. The duke of Guise is today the legitimate heir of Henry IV and Charles X in France.

Recently, Guglielmo Ferrero, the historian, gave the word "legitimate" quite a different meaning. A political regime, according to him, was legitimate if it was freely supported by such a large body of opinion that no attempt to overthrow it by force would have any chance of success, and therefore it needed very little force to carry on against its opponents. Ferrero's legitimacy was "popular" and not "historic," though in his opinion the perfection of legitimacy would exist where tradition and popular consent were associated. This is why, in Ferrero's opinion, the British constitution, enjoying both advantages, embodies the most satisfactory form of legitimacy. But Ferrero did not think that in Europe today, historical tradition could suffice as a basis for legitimacy without spontaneous, popular consent.

When he speaks of "vestiges of legitimate and historic authority," Mr. Lippmann obviously thinks of legitimacy in the Metternichian sense.

What are those "vestiges" in Italy today? From Mr. Lippmann's articles in the New York Herald Tribune of May 2 and May 5, 1942, we gather that they are "the King and the House of Savoy," the "Army" and "The Holy See."

The House of Savoy is no doubt legitimate in the Metternichian sense, though, between 1859 and 1870, it made use of the illegitimate means of revolution to unseat all the other legitimate dynasties in Italy. Queen Victoria looked upon the first King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, as the secretary of an American trade-union would look upon a strikebreaker or a scab. But, step by step, all the other sovereigns of Europe acknowledged the accomplished fact. The last of them was Pope Pius XI, in 1929.

II.

It is a matter of indifference whether or not the present King of Italy is or is not an old poltroon, in his dotage and incapable of independent initiative, or whether or not his son and heir is a dissolute bigot, imbued with feudal and clerical prejudices, who sins during the night, confesses during the day, and is termed the "smiling fool" or the "national cretin" by the Italians.

According to Metternich, the rights of a legitimate sovereign are above discussion and his subjects have but to carry out his orders. Emperor Ferdinand I, at the time of Metternich (1835-1848), was the legitimate sovereign of the Austrian Empire, though he spent his days catching flies and counting the coaches which passed under the windows of his palace. Otto of Hapsburg is today the legitimate successor of Ferdinand.

The "Army," according to the Metternichian doctrine, is not an independent legitimate authority. It is the servant of the king and must obey the king unless it revolts against the king, thus sending to the devil Metternich and his historical legitimacy.

When he deals with the Nazi army, Mr. Lippmann wants to have it wholly destroyed and its officers and men captured "to constitute a military defeat such as no nation, not even France in 1940, has ever suffered in modern times." (New York Herald Tribune, Nov. 24, 1942.) And when the Nazi army has been utterly crushed, Mr. Lippmann hopes that French, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Poles, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks and Austrians will rise to liberate themselves. "They should be enabled to win their freedom for themselves. Then they can be our friends and not our clients, our self-respecting allies and not our wards."

The Germans and the Italians are not mentioned. Thus they have not to win their freedom for themselves. What kind of fate is in store for the Germans we do not know. We can only guess. But the Italian army has become "legitimate." Therefore it has to be left in Italy to prevent the Italians from winning their freedom for themselves. When the Americans and British armies invade Italy, the legitimate Italian army will join hands with them to teach the Italians how to behave. Those who disagree will be sent to concentration camps or the next world, waving flags emblazoned with President Roosevelt's famous Four Freedoms.

As far as the Holy See is concerned, the Pope was the (Metternichian) legitimate sovereign of vast territories in Central Italy up until 1859. Between 1859 and 1870 he was dispossessed of all these territories except what is now called Vatican City. As I have said before, in 1929 he explicitly renounced any claims to his old territories outside Vatican City. As a consequence Metternich would concede him no "vestige" of legitimate authority outside the one hundred acres of Vatican City.

III.

Whoever accepts the historical doctrine of legitimacy ought to swallow not only the king but also his henchmen. Mussolini was chosen prime minister by the legitimate King of Italy. All his laws and decrees bear the King's signature. For twenty years the king has been his most indispensable henchman. All the British foreign ministers—Sir Austen Chamberlain, Arthur Henderson, Sir John Simon, Sir Samuel Hoare, Anthony Eden, Lord Halifax—negotiated with him and signed agreements with him as the legitimate head of the Italian government. Two British prime ministers went to Rome to pay homage to him: Ramsay MacDonald and Neville Chamberlain. If there is in Europe an authority which is legitimate according to Metternich, it is Mussolini's. Why respect historical legitimacy when it works in favor of the House of Savoy and invent nonexistent historical legitimacy in order to bestow it upon the army and the Pope, while depriving Mussolini of his rightful share of legitimacy? If Mussolini has become illegitimate, the House of Savoy has also become illegitimate. If the House of Savoy is still legitimate, then Mussolini is also legitimate. They sink or swim together in Metternich's sea of legitimacy. On this score, those American Catholics are right who teach that "We must remember that the government of Mussolini is still the lawfully constituted authority in Italy. If we can get Italy out of the web by negotiating with that lawfully constituted authority, that is our advantage." (The Tidings, official organ of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, Nov. 20, 1942.)

While the royal House of Savoy, the Army and the Pope are kept on ice by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt as the legitimate authorities entitled to speak for Italy, Assistant Secretary Berle has summoned the Italian people to make a revolution, but Mr. Churchill has told them that they must overthrow "one man and one man alone," Mussolini.

I was brought up in Italy. For a half century I have studied Italian history. I can therefore claim that I know something of Italian mentality. Thus I state that no thinking Italian within or outside of Italy is prepared to swallow Metternich's doctrine of legitimacy. It may be that some Italians here and there still think that royalty might perform some useful task in Italy. But their opinion would spring from Ferrero's popular doctrine and not from Mr. Lippmann's historic doctrine. If they were told that they had to bow before the king and his heir on account of their Metternichian legitimacy, they also would become republican at one stroke. And as for the Pope, well, if President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill ever bestowed upon him the least share of political authority in Italy, the first victim of such a blunder would be the Pope himself.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

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ROSE-ALSA SCHULER

MUSSOLINI

A TRAVERS SON ÉCRITURE

*avec un portrait
un buste du sculpteur Ambrosi
et quatre autographes hors texte*



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E IL POPOLO

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IL DUCE

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ZUM V. JAHRESTAG DER VERHÄNGUNG
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L'ULTIMA ORA DI MUSSOLINI



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MEZZAGRA • "ZERBINO E MEZZASOMA DOVE SONO?" • LA SENTENZA
LA LUGUBRE VISIONE DI PIAZZA LORETO • L'ITALIA È PURIFICATA

KDC 577

#143

Da "Il Giornale della Scuola Media,,

N. 21 del 20 Maggio 1953

3-OCT 25
COPY 1955*"Una significativa candidatura*

Nel caleidoscopio elettorale, ora in piena rotazione, ci piace segnalare una candidatura a cui scuola ed insegnanti non possono non sentirsi interessati. Pur non entrando nel merito della odierna competizione, non sarebbe giusto non mettere in evidenza qualche nome dal cui successo non può non sortir bene alla scuola: ci pare anzi che quelli che esprimono, da lungo tempo, nella loro persona ed opera, esigenze veramente costruttive, non siano da confondere con i tanti improvvisati patrocinatori di rivendicazioni generiche e generali, che pullulano nei comizi. E' il caso di **VINCENZO GRILLO**, capo divisione alla direzione generale dell'istruzione classica, candidato nella lista del Partito Liberale per il Lazio, che conosce bene egualmente la scuola e l'amministrazione, con le quali ha contratto un legame non casuale od avventizio. La sua, e perciò ne parliamo, non è candidatura dell'ultima ora, ma tendenza, impegno e vocazione manifestate ed assunte in tempi assai anteriori ad ogni previsione e preoccupazione elezionistica. Prova ne sia che il **GRILLO** fu promotore, nell'abbastanza lontano 1948, della costituzione dell'Associazione dei Funzionari Direttivi e, più di recente, della Confederazione Nazionale dei Dirigenti, delle quali è attivissimo segretario: sigle Direttivi dell'Amministrazione dello Stato (Dirstat) che così spesso ricorrono nelle battaglie sindacali. Perché anche di ciò vorremmo parlare, di una rappresentanza cioè di interessi concreti in Parlamento, e non di sole ideologie politiche, se il discorso non ci portasse troppo oltre. Insistendo sul nome di **GRILLO**, insistiamo per la buona scuola e la buona amministrazione, *res olim dissociabiles*, che trovano in lui un comune esponente autentico e qualificato. »

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Il libro brillante
L'appuntamento
perpetuo

ROMA



L'ITALIANO PIÙ GIUSTO
DEL GIA
Francesco Micheli - L'Espresso

DEL FASCIO
L'ITALIANO PIÙ GIUSTO

NEGLI STATI UNITI I PRIMI ANNI DELLA BOMBA ATOMICA



SI O NO LA CONFERENZA A QUATTRO? L'AUSTERITÀ Vishinsky batte le mani a Parigi mentre Beria tuona a Mosca

Stalin attenderebbe un invito formale per decidere la sua partecipazione al progettato incontro con gli altri Grandi. Questa sera sarà proposto da Truman il piano per la pace.

In uniforme e fez rosso i guerriglieri hanno aperto il fuoco sugli inglesi

I «Banditi musulmani», dopo essersi per la prima volta in azione nelle zone del Canale di Suez, non si sono ancora sottomessi alle autorità.

Polemica al Cairo sul discorso della Corone

24 ore a Roma

di Pietro P. Lombardi

LA SPAGNA INDEBITATA

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COME SI DISTRUGGE una classe dirigente

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Quel che accade in questi giorni nella Cecoslovacchia è l'applicazione regolare e inesorabile del metodo col quale i comunisti, una volta pervenuti al potere, distruggono la media e la piccola borghesia. Dopo avere eliminato l'antica classe dirigente, si è data ai maggiori esponenti della proprietà terriera, dell'industria,

Si crede, convenientemente, che l'avvento del comunismo al potere sia contrassegnato da azioni terroristiche, da occupazioni violente, da parte della Russia sovietica, da un'esplosione di violenze di tutto questo, niente che ricordi le scene della rivoluzione francese. Il metodo è del tutto diverso, è del tutto nuovo. Durante una prima fase, non muta, nulla, almeno nelle apparenze. La Russia manda alcuni «esperti», che non si fanno quasi vedere, ma che in realtà si dedicano a dare la nuova classe dirigente. Pochi i processi, riservati ai grandi di colpevoli, ai traditori immeri-

tevoli che perdono o di indulgenza; rare le esecuzioni capitali. Solo di tanto in tanto qualcuno misteriosamente scompare. Tra le scorse le prime settimane, si ha la sensazione di vivere in una atmosfera di bonarietà e di fiducia. I comunisti non sono radicali, calmano, rassicurano, si danno più che altro, di iniziare un periodo davvero nuovo, quello dell'abolizione dei privilegi, che la vecchia classe dirigente tollera, quello della tanto augurata sempre invano attesa giustizia sociale.

La gente appare rassicurata, le cose continuano come prima, si fa bene, quasi di meritare il «nuovo corso». La religione non è disturbata; le funzioni nelle chiese continuano come prima; la proprietà, quella piccola e quella media, è rispettata, mentre si assicura che non si verifichino espropri, né commerciandoli vendono. Solo i commercianti ven-

per dare, degli esempi e tutto questo tra l'unanime approvazione delle masse popolari, portate a vedere in quelle vessazioni una giusta misura contro gli speculatori e gli affamatori. Il nuovo Governo si mostra comprensivo perfino indulgente, per le esecuzioni capitali, per le popolazioni e tollerante. Non forza la mano, non accelera i tempi; aspetta che i consensi si formino spontanei, in una atmosfera di cordialità e di buona fede. Così incominciano le adesioni, aperte e schiette. E una parata, mentre la purazione lavora, si fa, in un'atmosfera di questa facciata, si prepara il colpo di Stato «legale», la dittatura con l'adesione di tutti i partiti democratici. Per amore o per forza, i partiti democratici debbono allinearsi, debbono bandire i nuovi padroni. Così si cancella il Praga colpo di Stato del febbraio 1948, che si formò il vero Governo del popolo, il Governo «senza tradi-

tori». L'infelice Masaryk, che aveva compreso tutto e tutto previsto fin dall'inizio, fu trattato da visionario.

Esaurita questa prima fase, i comunisti si impadroniscono del potere in senso totalitario; mandano sui gli esponenti autorevoli del «partito di democrazia», che li lasciano pochi giorni di vita o puramente figurativi, qualche prebenda. E a questo punto che il nuovo regime incomincia a mostrare qualche lineamento del suo vero volto: la severità accompagnata dalla durezza. Si dice che le ascese del Governo sono decise in un'atmosfera di una vera, autentica, buona volontà; che è venuta, meno una sostanziale collaborazione; Si incomincia a fare il processo alle intenzioni. E, prima di ogni altra categoria, viene soppiantato il clero. E il clero che, abusando del suo potere sulle anime, prepara ogni sorta di congiure

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La Rivolta Ideale

"Non eligitis et non vincitis la prova."

COMITATO ELETTORALE

ROMA, maggio 1953 - Via Milano, 70

EGREGIO AMICO,

ai cari fedeli abbonati de « La Rivolta Ideale », ai lettori che con noi ebbero simpatica consuetudine epistolare, e a tutti i collaboratori diamo oggi direttamente una notizia che siamo certi accoglieranno con piacere.

Nell'ambito della famiglia de « La Rivolta Ideale » abbiamo costituito un « Comitato Elettorale » che si è anzitutto proposto il fine di indicare gli eventuali candidati del M.S.I. verso i quali convogliare i voti preferenziali, giacchè, purtroppo, in diverse circoscrizioni, la scelta dovrà restringersi su pochissimi — *se non su di uno solo di essi* — per evitare inutili dispersioni. Per queste considerazioni e per altre, che Vi sarà agevole fare, siamo lieti di comunicarvi intanto che Giovanni Tonelli, cedendo alle nostre insistenze ed alle sollecite pressioni giunte da amici, lettori e simpatizzanti di tutta Italia, ha accettato di porre la propria candidatura nella vostra circoscrizione.

Non è qui il caso di tessere l'elogio di Tonelli. Egli stesso non lo gradirebbe. Ma parlare, a suo riguardo, di coraggio, di assoluto disinteresse, di grande onestà, non è esaltazione nè, tanto meno, spicciola propaganda elettorale. E' semplicemente una constatazione che anche Voi avete fatta da tempo. Non va dimenticato, infatti, che fu Tonelli, *da solo*, ad aprire i cuori italiani alla speranza d'una rinascita nell'ormai lontano inverno del 1946, fondando « La Rivolta Ideale », e, alla fine dello stesso anno, il Movimento Sociale Italiano.

Potremmo aggiungere molte altre cose. Ma Vi diciamo soltanto che unicamente per il bene della Patria, per la chiarificazione del M.S.I. ci siamo adoperati affinché Tonelli accettasse la candidatura e *si impegnasse a combattere a fondo*, com'egli sa fare. Egli ha preso questo impegno, e ciò darà anche a Voi la nostra stessa gioia e la nostra speranza.

Ora vi diciamo che occorrerebbe da parte Vostra, svolgere un'attiva ed appassionata opera di *propaganda capillare fra parenti, amici, conoscenti*, giacchè particolarmente in questo modo dovrà svolgersi la nostra propaganda, e non a base di manifesti, al fine non solo di votare la nostra lista, ma di dare il *voto di preferenza* a Tonelli. E' l'ora di agire compatti. E con grande fede.

Confidiamo che abbiate inteso, più che le parole che non abbiano espresso, lo spirito di questa lettera: e in tale fiducia Vi salutiamo, affettuosamente,

COMITATO ELETTORALE
de « La Rivolta Ideale »,
Il Segretario

622



VOTATE LA LISTA DEL M.S.I.

e date il voto di preferenza a

5147

GIOVANNI TONELLI

Tonelli fu il primo e il solo che nell'inverno del 1946 al di sopra di ogni fazione levò alta la voce, in difesa dei Combattenti, dei perseguitati e di tutti gli Italiani degni di questo nome. Attorno a "La Rivolta Ideale", si costituì il M. S. I. **RICORDATELO!** e date il voto di preferenza a **TONELLI**

(A cura del Comitato Elettorale
de "La Rivolta Ideale")

CENTRO D'AZIONE NAZIONALE

3-OCT 25

Copy 1955

Roma 25 Maggio 1953

Egregio amico,

ritengo di poter domandare a coloro che, come Lei, mi hanno seguito con coerenza e costanza nella mia azione di direttore del settimanale "GOVERNO", e di presidente del "CENTRO", l'appoggio alla mia candidatura politica.

Sono candidato alla Camera dei Deputati (N.º 4) della lista "STELLA E CORONA", del Partito Nazionale Monarchico solo per Roma e Lazio.

L'intenso lavoro da me dedicato in questi ultimi mesi alla organizzazione della Federazione Romana del P.N.M. che ha portato al raddoppio degli iscritti e delle Sezioni, ha però limitato il tempo che ho potuto dedicare alla propaganda personale purtroppo così necessaria in questi momenti. Ed è perciò che mi rivolgo agli amici che conoscono il mio passato, i miei convincimenti politici e la fermezza nel sostenerli, per chiedere il loro benevolo appoggio.

Con la certezza che nel corso della prossima Legislatura la Causa monarchica farà progressi importanti se i suoi sostenitori in Parlamento sapranno difenderla con pieno impegno e con aperto coraggio invio il mio più cordiale e grato saluto.

ROBERTO CANTALUPO

N.B. - Chi crede di poter utilmente diffondere materiale di propaganda come quello allegato, potrà richiederlo al Conte Arrigoni - Piazza Augusto Imperatore 22 - Tel. 64567.

X- DG 577

#149



AUG 21 1985

FAC - SIMILE

VOTI DI PREFERENZA

LESSONA 5





X-DG 577 #150

VOTI DI PREFERENZA

4 CANTALUPO

#151



3-00 25

FAC SIMILE



Sui quattro righi delle preferenze metti
i nomi di tre candidati della lista D.C.
SUL QUARTO rigo scrivi **GIANNINI**
oppure 16



« RICORDATI CHE GIANNINI
FU IL PRIMO A OSARE »



VOTI DI PREFERENZA



GIANNINI oppure **16**





**PARTITO SOCIALISTA
DEMOCRATICO ITALIANO**

Lista n. 2

ELETTORE Vota Socialismo

tracciando un segno sul simbolo del "Sole nascente",
collocato al secondo posto a sinistra.

RICORDA, nel dare il voto di preferenza,

DANTE MALINTOPPI

numero 24



Fin dalla sua prima giovinezza scelse la via del Socialismo e la percorse dedicandole ogni sua energia ed ogni sua attività. Le sue spinte dall'organizzativo e l'amore per la classe lavoratrice lo portarono in posizioni di dirigenza degli organismi Cooperativistici e Sindacali.

Appena maggiorenne entrò a far parte del Consiglio Municipale di Albano e nel 1922 era il Sindaco di quel Comune e Consigliere Provinciale di Roma, quando la violenza fascista spazzò dalle Amministrazioni locali i legittimi rappresentanti del popolo.

Il regime fascista non riuscì a piegarlo né con lusinghe né con minacce e quando nel 1943 quel regime cadde, i socialisti del Lazio che lo avevano considerato sempre come una bandiera degli ideali socialisti, lo vollero Segretario della rinata Federazione Romana e successivamente lo designarono alla Consulta Nazionale in seno alla quale fece parte della Commissione dell'Agricoltura e della Alimentazione.

Membro del Collegio dei Proibitori della Direzione del Partito nel 1946, assieme con vivacità lo lottò per l'autonomia del Partito Socialista ed il Congresso di Palazzo Barberini lo ebbe tra i primi assertori del Socialismo Democratico.

I suoi meriti combattentistici — l'Ufficiale nella guerra 1915-18 e ferito di guerra — gli conferirono la nomina nel "Comitato Direttivo della Federazione Provinciale Combattenti di Roma".

ELETTORE LAVORATORE, 55 anni di vita interomene dedicata al Socialismo costituiscono un merito ed una garanzia.



VOTA SOCIALISMO

VOTA MALINTOPPI n. 24

Fac-simile

X-55 377



VOTA così



VOTI DI PREFERENZA

CESOLARI-N.11





ALESSANDRO LESSONA



Per **STELLA e CORONA**
votate LESSONA

Candidato N. 5

Alessandro Lessona è nato in Roma il 9 settembre 1891, laureato in giurisprudenza.

Proviene da una famiglia di insigni giuristi ed intellettuali: figlio di Carlo, professore di procedura civile e trattista nelle Università di Pisa e Siena: nipote di Michele illustre naturalista e letterato: fratello di Silvio attualmente Ordinario di diritto amministrativo nella Università di Bologna, dopo esserlo stato in quella di Firenze.

Alessandro Lessona, allora Ufficiale in s.p.e., riuscito tra i primi alla scuola di Modena, e primo a Pinerolo e Tor di Quinto, partecipò alla guerra mondiale 1915-18.

Da tenente, appiedato, nelle trincee di Monfalcone portò valorosamente al contrattacco il suo squadrone rimanendo ferito gravemente e guadagnandosi sul campo la medaglia d'argento al V.M. con lusinghiera motivazione (15 maggio 1916).

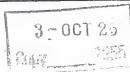
Ancora convalescente tornò al fronte, combatté in Macedonia, nel Trentino, sul Piave.

Comandato al corso pratico di S. Maggiore, ne usciva con l'ambita classifica di ottimo.

Addetto poi al Comando del Corpo d'Armata Italiano sul fronte francese, agli ordini del Generale Albricci, si segnalò, in condizioni particolarmente difficili, per le sue doti organizzative.

Prese parte a numerose azioni di guerra, meritando la Croce di Cavaliere della Legione d'Onore, ricompensa concessa eccezionalmente per meriti di guerra, e due citazioni all'ordine del giorno della Croce di Guerra francese.

PER UN PARLAMENTO PATRIOTTICO ED EFFICIENTE



55

Il voto al

Partito Nazionale Monarchico

Lista "Stella e Corona,,



*La preferenza al candidato
per la Camera dei Deputati*

n. 4 CANTALUPO

X-DG-577

#156

3

Dalla tribuna parlamentare

JUN 26 1962

Palmiro Togliatti



**CONTRO
IL GOVERNO TAMBRONI
CONTRO
LA RINASCITA DEL FASCISMO**

*Discorso pronunciato alla Camera
dei Deputati, il 12 luglio 1960*